



Instructions for

the warres.

Amplly, learnedly, and politiquely,
discoursing the method of Militarie
Discipline.

Originally Written in French by that rare and
worthy Generall, Monsieur William de Bellay,
Lord of Langey, Knight of the order of
Fraunce, and the Kings Licute-
nant in Thurin.

Translated by Paule Iue, Gent.



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Instructions for

the writer

of the Secretary of the Navy

and of the Secretary of the War

and of the Secretary of the Interior

and of the Secretary of the Treasury

and of the Secretary of the State

and of the Secretary of the Navy



and of the Secretary of the Navy

and of the Secretary of the War

and of the Secretary of the Interior



TO THE RIGHT HO-
norable, William Dauison Esquier,
one of her Maiesties principall Secretaries :
and of hir Highnesse most Honourable
prinie Councill.



*H*aving deuſted out of his French
attyre, this learned and martiall
woorke, of that famous and expe-
rienced Captaine, Mounſieur de
Bellay: (the attempting and per-
fourming whereof, beeing by mee taken in hand,
through the commaundement, and cheerefull en-
couragement of your Honour) I thought my ſelfe
tyed by dutie to preſent you with the rype croppe
of that reaped graine, which by your owne good
direction was ſowen and manured. Yea, a point of
vnpardonable ingratitude, might it bee noted in
me, if that which was hatched vnder the ſhelter of
your ſouourable protection, and deliuered vnto
mee by your Honours own hands, to be tranſlated,
(for the benefit of your louing countrymen, whoſe
weale you haue alwaies moſt carefully reſpected)

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

should now as a fugitive runne away from your Honour, else-where to seeke anye other maister, friend, or patrone. Acknowledge therefore, I most humbly beseech you, your owne : and vouchsafe fauourable to accept my poore selfe, and these my simple trauels heerein imployed, according vnto the generositie of your worthie minde. As I during life, shall remaine a daylye petitioner vnto the Almightye, for his graces bountifully to bee powred vpon you, to the aduancement of his glory, the benefit of your countrie, and your owne comfort.

*Your Honours most humblie
readie to doe you service :*

Paule Iue,

To all Gentlemen Souldiers, and
others, the Readers of this Booke.



Lawfull vse of Armes there is,
a time of wreckfull warre,
When Countries cause dooth craue defence,
from force of forren iarre.

Els should we not our liues, our Wiues,
our Babes ne goods enioye:

From rampaunt clawe of greedie Gull,
that thirsts for our annoye.

And Prince might seeme in vaine to sway
the Sword and regall Mace:

If that hee should not curbe the rage
of foes deuoid of grace.

Let vs therefore in egall Scales,
all circumstances waye,

Why, when, where, how, & vnder whom
wee dinting Sword assaye.

And wee shall finde in sacred lore,
how warre from God aboue,

Good warrant hath, who dooth the same,
by fundrie texts approoue.

The *Israelites* great slaughter made,
of them of *Mydian* land:

And all the pray and spoyle was dealt
among their warlike band.

Th' *Amalechites* by *Ioshua* stoute,
in warre were ouerthrowne:

And *Moses* this from Gods own mouthe,
made cleerely to be knowne.

Num. 31.

Exod. 17.

Pſalm. 18, &
144.

Deut. 20.

Num. 10.

Matth. 8.

Aët. 10.

Luke. 3.

King *David* ioyed in his skill,
of warlike feates at large :
And ſayeth that God taught him to fight,
and knowe a Warriours charge.
And warres were ſo accounted of
by God in time of yore :
That Militare decrees were made,
in great abundant ſtore.
Yea, not ſo much omitted was,
as Trumpets how to frame,
And how to uſe : when neede requird,
the force of foes to tame.
What praiſe for conſtant faith and life,
did Chriſt himſelfe confeſſe
To be in that Centurions hart,
who warfare did profeſſe ?
Cornelius, he that Captaine was
vnto th' *Italian* band :
And liu'd by Warres, much fauor found
at God almighties hand.
Iohn Baptiſt bidding Souldiers liue,
contented with their wage,
Allowes their trade, ſo that they ſhew,
to no man dire outrage.
This and much more ſhall plaine appeare,
by *Langeys* ſtately ſtyle.
And by the reaſons that haue paſt
his braue and lettred ſyle.
With pollicie and valour eke,
he rites religious brings,
And no mans dutie leaues vntoucht,
ne other needfull things.

The

The Generall Chiefe his office heere,
beholds as in a Glasse:
The Marshall of the Campe his charge:
and (so from him to passe)
The Maister of th' Artillarie,
the Treasurer, the Iudge,
The Colonell, the Corporall,
that at no paines must grudge.
The Serieant Maior, Victailer,
the Maister of the watche:
The Ensigne bearer, Drumslade, Clarke,
and Shot that serue with matche.
And euery other pettie charge,
most liuely set abroach:
As they shall finde, that to this Booke
with heedfull care approche.
Both how to muster, how to martch,
and battaile how to giue:
On Horffe with Launce, on foote with Pike,
each way their foe to grieue.
How Winges to place, how Flankes to plant,
and how for to retyre:
At vantage how to fallie out,
to pay the foe his hyre.
With each appendance vnto warre,
and that so passing well,
That *Langey* now by doome of best,
dooth beare away the Bell.
Heere may wee learne how to ens konce,
in Barbican, or Pyle:
In Castle, Fort, or walled towne,
and how to drop a wile,

Or

Or plant an Ambush, to surprife,
the Enmie in a snare :
And catche him in a net, ere he
bee once thereof aware.
Thefe helps are now new brought to light
by *Iuies* painfull quill,
Who publiſht hath in Englifh phraſe,
through entire heartie will,
And loyall zeale to Countries weale,
this rare and learned worke,
Not ſuffring it in forren toong,
from vs (vnknowne) to lurke.
Such painful works, ſuch Captaines good,
ſuch Souldiers at our neede,
As heerein are deſcribde and taught,
God graunt this Realme may breede,
So ſhould that venim'd Vipers broode,
that gapes for *Englands* ſpoyle,
Be quickly brought to know themſelues,
and eaſy put to foyle.

Tho. Newton, Ceſtreſh.



The Authour his Preface :

*wherein he disputeth whether it be
lawfull for Christians to make
Warres, or not.*



Although that the question, to weet,
whether it be lawfull for Christians to
make warres among themselues, doth
yet hang in controuersie, not hauing at
any time bin fully decided, because it
is hard to iudge in a difference, where
the reasons that either party alleadgeth for himselfe, do
make it so doubtfull, that hardly it may be resolued : not-
withstanding I dare beleēue that those warres which
are taken in hand neither for ambition, nor for the de-
sire of reuenge, nor voluntarily, nor to the intent to
vsurpe other mennes goods, are iust and lawfull; es-
pecially for a Prince, if it bee to defend his countrey
and subiects, for whose safety he is bound to hazard
his life. And in mine opinion it serueth to no pur-
pose that some alleadge out of the holy Scripture to
the contrary, saying, that a good Christian ought pa-
tiently to suffer the iniuries and wrongs that are done
vnto him, without making resistance vnto those that
would take away his goods, or would strike him. For I
hould opinion that that was only spoken vnto the A-
postles, and their like, vnto whome it was necessary to
haue humilitie and patience in all their busines, if they
would that the doctrine which they preached should

B 3.

bring

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bring forth good fruite, and take roote, because it was not in them to vse force, and that in truth those things which we perswade with humilitie, are of much more vertue then those things which are constrained to be beleueed through violence. But as for vs which faithfully beleue the Gospell, and are not called to preach, and those that do gouerne a people, I thinke it is lawfull for vs to vse armes against them that would ouerrunne vs; and that the sword was giuen vnto Princes to defend their Subiects and good men from the deuouring of the stronger and wicked: and consequently, authoritie to helpe themselves by armes, and through the force of their subiects, to make the royaltie which God hath giuen them to be of estimation; for it is not without cause that they do beare the sword, nor without misterie. Wherefore in mine opinion, Princes may iustly take armes in hand for the defence of their subiects, and the subiects likewise for the maintenance of their Princes authoritie, and that to this intent it should be lawfull to leuy men, and afterwards to make warres. Not that this taking vp of men should be handled, after the manner of those people which do enrowle themselves voluntarily, and which go to the warres for a brauery; or to the intent to make a hand therby: but I meane, that this leuy should be made by the commandement of the Prince, and that the subiects should neither haue liberty to offer themselves, nor refuse to goe whither it shall be his good pleasure to send the within his countrey to driue out an enemy only, and not to assault him. As we see in *Fraunce* the King doth leuy his *Rierban*, and may compell them to goe into any of the frontiers of his countrey, for the defence of the same, in which case, there is no Gentleman

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man that may refuse, or excuse himselfe; but must be there at the day appointed, if the excuse be not very lawfull. So that me thinke, these *Rierbans* may then goe against the Kings enemies, and enter into battaile against them, without charge of conscience any way; as well for ~~that~~ naturall reason would that euery man should defend his goods and countrey: as also, because it is the King that commaundeth vs to go, vnto whome we are bound by the lawes of God to obeye, and vnto all other Potestates hauing charge from him. The leuy then which is made in this order, and to this intent, is not (as I thinke) reprobable; and so likewise is to be thought of the seruice which the common people do vnto their Prince, which in my iudgement, is so reasonable, that I dare affyrme, that those that happen to be slaine in this quarrell; shall not be reprobued for the same before God: which I will not say for those that goe out of their Countrey to seeke their aduentures, what likelyhood of good title so euer they haue, for their excuse can not be grounded vpon any coulour of reason that I do knowe. So it is then, that if the Prince do compell them to goe, they shall be much more excusable, then when they go of their owne free wills, forasmuch as we owe (as is aboue said) all obedience vnto our King; and who so resisteth the King, resisteth the ordinance and will of God. Wherefore if we commit any fault in obeying him, that is to say, if we offend his enemyes as farre-footh as the lawes of armes will permit, and no further, we must thinke that the fault shall not be altogether ours, but that he shall haue his part in it; but peraduenture the gouernment may be handled so gratioussly in moderating of our quarrels, that one of our warres may rather be called a threatning, or a cor-

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reſiſt, then otherwiſe: becauſe it cannot well be tearmed a warre, for that the controuerſie, or quarrell, that thoſe that are of one party haue amongſt themſelues, is called a Mutinie, and wee are all belonging vnto one, to weet, vnto Chriſt. Therefore the controuerſies which we haue ſometimes amongſt vs, are very mutinies, and ought not properly to be called by any other name: in conſideration whereof, as often as we fall into this inconuenience, we ought to vſe the matter in ſuch ſort, and with ſuch modeſtie, that from an outward ſedition, we fall not into a right cruell warres: and that we which do carry one name, and make profeſſion to preach perfect amitie, ſaying, that we all are one onely body in Chriſt, do not become deuided, wholly contrary vnto the ſignification of our name, and the ſufferance of our law. For in truth, in troubling one another as we do, our forces diminith, and the infidels waxe ſtronger, who knowe ſo well to make their profit of our ſaid mutinies, that they from day to day do enlarge their Empyre, and aſſure it to themſelues, while we fight together, and conſume one anothers forces for a thing of naught. VVherin they vſe ſo great induſtrie, that it is to be feared that in time they will by little and little take from vs the reſt which we enioy. And yet there is none that doth looke into it, or if any do fore-ſee, none that do make ſhew to withſtand it, ſo that euery one truſteth vnto them that are the neareſt borderers, ſaying, let them defend if they will, and that it will be long ere they come vnto vs, but that is an opinion that may aſwell deceiue vs one day, as it hath done others that truſted therevnto, eſpecially thoſe that made no accompt to quench the fire that was kindled at their owne dores, as hath been ſcene amongſt the
Greekes

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Greekes, who were slothfull to helpe one another, when the *Turkes* came first downe into *Greece*, at which time they were of small force, but after that they had once put in their foote, it was then too hard to driue them out againe, and therefore they haue continued their maisters, and the first inhabitants were forced to seeke other habitation, or to abide their tyrannies. The *Hungarians* likewise looked to be intreated to send ayde against the same aduersarie, and it is seene what they haue gotten thereby. The *Polonians*, *Bohemians*, and *Almaigns*, were long time negligent to succour *Hungary* for their owne particular quarrels, and therefore the *Turke* is at theye gates. *Italy*, *Spayne*, and *Fraunce*, haue suffered for to spite one another, that many strong Townes, Ilands in the sea, and Countreys, haue been lost within this forty yeares vnto their great shame, for which they do already suffer a certaine pennance, to weete, by the courses and pillages that are made vpon their sea coasts, besides the feare that each one of them hath to receiue a worse turne, how long soeuer it be deferred. Truly it is against that vnbelieuing people that our Princes should declare themselves enemies, for to keep out of their hands that which yet remaineth vnto vs, and to recouer from them that which they vniustly hold from the Christians, for that for a more iust or holy quarrell, they cannot require to take armes in hand, and in truth sutch a warre as would not offend God, sith it should be but to make resistance vnto a people that do seeke to put downe our Religion, to aduance theirs, and our common wealth, to make themselves lords and monarks of all. Suppose that our said Princes should do no other good, but deliuer the poore Christians, which they do tirannously and outra-

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geously vse at alltimes, and hinder, that little infants should not from henceforth be taken out of the armes and laps of their fathers and mothers to be circumcised as they are, and instructed in countreyes vnto them vnknowne, in that most damnable sect of *Mahumer*, their parents neuer hearing what is become of them; and which is worse, of the members of Iesus Christ, are made members of the Diuell; should not this be ynough for our said Princes? me thinke yea, and to their great honor, whereas it is to their great shame that they do no better indeuer. Well, I doubt that they shall one day yeld an accompt for it, and not only they; but also those that haue any authority amongst vs: principally my maisters the prelates of the Church, who little regard to declare it vnto them, vnto whom it appertaineth; and furthermore to employ a good portion of their owne goods, seeing they haue wherewithal to do it, and very good occasion to speake of it. Notwithstanding they are cold, and make no reckning (as is aboue said) of the danger that they are in, nor of the seruitude that the poore Christians which dwell in *Greece* and *Asia*, are held in, vnder the hands of Infidels, to the great preiudice of our Religion, for the which all faithfull Christians ought to take armes in hand against our common aduersary rather to day, then to morrow. And to that end I belecue firmly, that it is lawfull for vs to make warres, if it be not lawfull for any other intent. Prouided alwayes, that the cause that moueth vs therevnto be such as it ought to be; and that the determination be not to kill those that will not by and by beleue. For it is not with the stroke of the sword that Infidels are conuerted, and become Christians; but it is example and conference that may do more then force:
and

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and the force (I say) which we may do vnto them, is only that we should defend our marches, or deliuer the Churches of the abouesaid Countreyes, out of the captiuities that they are in: or if so be that the said infidels would enter further vpon vs, or would not freely depart out of the countreyes which they do vsurp, I am of opinion that we might goe vpon them for these causes, and make the a most cruell and sharp warre; and yet notwithstanding hauing the victory, vse them as gently as we do vse one another in our warres, forasmuch as peraduenture they might heereafter be conuerted: and in truth no man was euer reproached for making of honest warres, and for shewing mercy vnto the vanquished. This then is the most iust warres of all that a Christian may make; the defence of our Prince and his Realme is the next. Likewise a Prince may goe out of his Countrey to assault another, so that it be to get his owne againe, if so be that it were taken wrongfully from him, or that any people his subiects did rebell: for sith Princes haue charge of their subiects, and therefore may punish those that do wrong one to another; who is it then that shall forbid them to aske theyr owne, and to recouer with force that which is kept from them by force? seeing that they haue no body to runne vnto greater then themselues, or that is their superior. I speake of a king of *Fraunce* or of another his equall, specially after hauing made the requests and demonstrations vnto the withholders that in sutch a case are necessary. In which case if it were not lawfull to haue recourse vnto armes, it would therof ensue, that the world would be so ful of vprores, & of those that seke to surprise one another, chiefly the suttle sort, being assured they should not suffer smart for the violence they comit:

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a thing not tollerable, because the common peace would be too much disquieted. I say further for the subiects, that if the King do compell them to enter vpon the lands of another man, vnder what title so euer it be, that they are not to enquire whether it be good or euill, nor are so culpable as some perhaps will say that they are, so that they do it to obey him, for they ought to depend vpon him all in all. But as concerning the King who is the occasion, it shall be his deede, and those that counsayled him therevnto. Then to play surely a Prince which pretendeth to make warres, ought to handle the matter so, that his pretences do not saue of any of the conditions aforesaid, or else he cannot so well colour his fact, but that his cause would be wrongfull. And suppose further that he hath some colour to make warres, yet is it better, first before any thing be taken in hand, to haue recourse vnto arbiters, then to be the occasion of the great mischiefes which do follow a warre: but if so be that his aduersary refused conference, or would not put his controuersie to arbiters that are not to be suspected, and that it behoued him with all speed to take armes for his refuge, and to inuade his said aduersarie, or those that do him wrong, it ought to be done with a maxime, to make the least outrageous and bloudy warres that he might, and the shortest. In consideration whereof, a Prince which at any time findeth himselfe driuen vnto the necessitie to assault his neighbours, or to be assaulted himselfe, ought betimes to furnish himselfe with good souldiours, which should not only be valiant men, and well practised, but moreouer should be men of good life, to the intent he might in short time overcome his enemies, without too great a losse of his owne people, or of
his

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his aduersaries, but as the equitie of a gracious warre requireth. But for that it would be impossible to conduct a warre of great importance soone to an end, without the hauing of very good Souldyers, and further to keepe them from endomaging himselfe and others, except they were men of very good life, it should be necessary that the said Prince should haue a care, that those whome he pretendeth to employ in this busines, should be the least vitious, and most expert in the feat of armes that he possibly could finde. And that he should seeke by all meanes possible to make them so perfect, which cannot be done without reading of the Authors that haue giuen rule for it, wherein I haue somewhat spent my time, because I would gladly be the occasion of some profit vnto the King if I might. And hauing seene and read the said Authors sufficiently, at least the most renowned, I haue in fyne assayed to shew by this worke, how the said Lord might recouer such Souldyers as are spoken of, and to that ende I haue distributed this worke into three parts. The first shall shewe how to leuie a great number in *Fraunce*, and how to traine them to haue seruice of the in euery place. The second shall treat of all the points that a Captaine Generall ought to know how to conduct the warres to his honor, and to ouercome his enemies. The third shall also treat of the same matter, and shall likewise speake of the lawes that ought to raigne amongst Souldyers. Of all which things shal be so largely spoken, that peraduenture I shall be found too troublesome vnto those that shall see my worke, specially for that I determine to make ample mention of all that appertaineth vnto this science, except it be how to defend a place. For I do presuppose that the host which I will make, shall be

b. always

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alwayes so strong, that it shall not at any time be constrained to enclose it selfe where it may be besieged: but I meane to make it such a one, that it may besiege and assault al others. Which to do, throughtout the whole book I haue chosen for my chiefe guide the vses and customs which I do find haue bin obserued of the auncient Souldiers, after whose example I do gouerne my selfe more then after the manner that is now in vse amongst vs, because ours is too far differing frō that *Militarie discipline*, which ought to be obserued among vs for the better. And the reason that maketh me to beleue that it is so contrary, and of much lesse value then theirs, is, that all things concerning this matter were much better done by them, then they are by vs, and that their Souldiers were more orderly, more painefull, more vertuous, and better men of warre then we are, as the deedes both of the one and the other would make shew, who so would compare them together. Wherefore I would frame them of whome I intend to speake, after the auncient manner, and according vnto my small capacitie. And although I follow the auncient manner in most part of the actions which a Campe doth, notwithstanding it is without reiecting our owne fashions in any thing that I thinke them to be surer then theirs. And if I put too any thing of mine owne, it is not without due examination, and that I know that there is some aduantage to be had in vsing the manner I do speake of. If then mine opinion be thought any thing worth, let it be taken in good part, for I haue done it for the desire I haue to see our *Discipline* in better state then it is at this day. But, if so be it be found to be worth nothing, let it be then left wholly vnto those that I haue borrowed it of, and vnto me. And if
peraduen-

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peraduenture the affayres of *France* do stand at any time in ill state for want of foresight (which God forbid) let the fault be layd vppon their necks, that might haue remedied it; if they had would, and not vppon his that would haue remedied it, if he might.

¶ The Contents of the Chapters contained in this treatise, are these following.

The Chapters of the first Booke.

- H**ow the King ought to make his Warres with the force of his owne subjects. Chapter. 1.
The number of Souldyers that might be leuiued in *France*. Chapter. 2.
The manner how to leuy Souldyers, and to inrowle them, and the qualities that are requisite to be in a new Souldyer. Chapter. 3.
How Souldyers ought to be armed and weaponed, both according vnto the manner that was vsed in the old time, and the manner that is vsed at this present. Chapter. 4.
The manner how to distribute a great number of Souldyers into many bands, and how to bring many bands into one principall. Chapter. 5.
How newe Souldyers ought to be exercised in diuers exercises, and the bands peticularly exercised before that the Legions should be assembled. Chapter. 6.
How to raunge one Band alone in battaile, and the order that it ought to keepe in trauailing thorough the Countrey, and the manner how to lodge it in Campe, in his quarter apart, and a Legion together. Chapter. 7.
How certaine number of Horsemen should be ioyned vnto every Legion. Chapter. 8.
How it is necessary to deuide every Battaillon into three battailes, the one separated from the other. Chapter. 9.
How to raunge a Legion in battaile, and after what manner it must be practised. Chapter. 10.
How from point to point to raunge foure Legions in battaile, wherein, the Author doth giue the best order that may be obserued. Chapter. 11.
The Author sheweth by a fayned Battaile, how an army of foure Legions raunged after the manner that he teacheth, should vse their fight against they enemy vpon a day of battaile. Chapter. 12.

The

The Contents of this Booke.

The Author yeeldeth a reason for euery thing that was done both before the
battaile and after. Chapter. 13.

The Chapters of the second Booke.

How a Generall may range his Battailes after diuers manners vnto his ad-
uantage, with certaine pollicies that may do him pleasure when as he
shall be at the poynt to fight with his enemyes. Chapter. 1.

What a Lieutenant Generall ought to do after the winning and leeling of a
Battaile, and what consideration he ought to haue before that he do enter
into Battaile. Chapter. 2.

How a Captayne Generall ought to deferre to come vnto the combate with
his enemyes as much as he may possible, when as the sayd enemyes are
entred into his Princes Countrey: and whether is the greater daunger to
attend for them at home in his owne Countrey, or to goe seeke them in
theirs: and likewise if the sayd Generall should be importuned by his
Souldyers to fight, how he might auoyd it, and how to encourage them,
if so be that they were afraid of their enemyes. Chapter. 3.

The order that a Lieutenant Generall ought to keepe in marching through
his enemyes Countrey, and the manner how to range a square battayle
with foure faces, leauing an empty place in the middest of it. Chapter. 4.

The order that a Lieutenant generall ought to vse for the vsuall of his
Army, and how the auncient Chiefe did vse their booties: with diuers
meanes, that a Generall may vse to endamage his enemyes, and to keepe
him selfe from surprize. Chapter. 5.

How a Lieutenant Generall ought to gouerne himselfe when as he findeth
that he is too weake to abide his enemyes, with certaine polycies to escape
their danger when as he is fallen into it, and how to haue the aduantage
of them. Chapter. 6.

How to lodge foure Legions together in a Campe, and what watch they
ought to keepe, with other poynts concerning the sayd manner of lod-
ging in Camp, and whilst the Camp is making. Chapter. 7.

The Chapters of the third Booke.

How a Generall may help himselfe with diuers policies in the warres. Chap-
ter. 1.

The order that a Generall ought to keepe in the besieging of a towne. Chap-
ter. 2.

How Souldyers ought to gouerne themselues according vnto the lawes of
Armes: with the chiefest lawes, and manner of proceeding in iudgement
against an offendor. Chapter. 3.

After what manner diuers crimes haue bin seuerely punished in times past,
and how it is necessary for a Lieutenant Generall to be somewhat cruell,
if he would be well serued. Chapter. 4.

How Souldyers ought to be recompenced after that they haue done good
seruice, with the Author his excuse. Chapter. 5.

FINIS.



The first Booke of Militarie *Discipline.*

How the King ought to make his warres with the force of
his owne Subiects.

The 1. Chapter.



The authours, which heretofore haue
bustied themselves to giue rules ap-
pertayning vnto the warres, would
by their sayings that those men of
whome a Prince would pretend to
haue seruice, should be leuied in tem-
perate countries, if so bee he would
haue them to bee both valiant & wise.
For they say that hot countries doe
bring forth wise men, but they are cowards, and that cold coun-
tries doe bring forth hardie men, but they are fowles. But I sup-
pose that they haue left vs this counsaile only to serue the turne
of some monarke, or puissant king, whose dominions do stretch
so wide, that both these qualities may be found seperably in the
countries that are vnder his hands, and hath power to leuie and
choose his men in what part he will, as the auncient Empe-
rours did at that time when almost all the whole world was in
their obedience. But to giue a rule that princes of meane power
may helpe themselves withall: although their countries be sci-
tuated in extreame hot or cold regions, I doe affirme that this
consideration shall nothing hinder such a prince to serue himself
with his subiects, but that he may make them hardie which na-
turally are cowards, and those wise which of themselves are
fowles,

fooles, for that wee may plainly see by old examples, that in all places, whether they be cold or hot, there may bee very good soldiers, so that there be exercise vſed and diligence: for that which by nature wanteth may be ſupplied by induſtrie and exerciſe, in this arte ſpecially which conſiſteth more in this poynt then in any other, by meanes whereof the Lacedemonians commaunded long time ouer all Greece, the Thebans deliuered them from the obedience of the Lacedemonians, reſtoring them vnto their former libertie; and the Romans (as ſaith Vegetius) ſurmounted throught their exerciſe and diſcipline, the multitude of the Gaules, the pride of the Germanes; the force of the Spaniards, the riches and warines of the Affricanes, and the wiſedome and ſubtilties of the Greekes; although they were inferiorious vnto the ſaid nations in all things, only except exerciſe, and ſkill to make warres. Furthermoze, I ſay that if a Prince pretend at any time to preuaile, that he ought to leuie his men of warre amongſt his ſubiects, whether that his kingdome were ſituated in the miſt of the frozen ſea, or in the miſt of Libia, which in mine opinion, are the two extreameſt hot and coldeſt climates that are: ſo that he would imploy a little diligence to faſhion them as appertaineth. Chieflly hauing occaſion to take vp men for to make warres, except he do take his own ſubiects, it will be doubtfull that he ſhall receiue a ſhewd turne by them, for that ſtraungers can neuer ſerue a Prince ſo loyally, but that his owne ſubiects will ſerue him more faithfully then they, and with a better heart: becauſe the Princes quarrell that hath them in charge, is not a matter that toucheth one perticular bodie, nor a third, but it concerneth all thoſe that ſhall feele the ſmart of it for their Lord: for as much as if he receiue any loſſe, of neceſſitie it muſt rebound vnto the great loſſe of his ſubiects, becauſe they are the pray of the vanquiſher, if their Prince bee vanquiſhed. And on the contrary part, let them make themſelues all rich, and not ſtraungers, if their Prince be victorious. Beſides, the good name and reputation that they ſhall get, which is a poynt that ſometime maketh the greateſt coward hardie; & the ſhame which is to be looked for if they leeſe is theirs alſo. For it will not be ſayd that the mercenaries haue loſt; but the nation of the Prince

Prince will bee named : as in the conflicts which the king hath had in his time, it hath not been sayd, that the Lancel knights, or the Switzers, or the Italians haue been ouerthrowne: although there haue been fewe others in our camps; but it hath been sayd that they were the Frenchmen, and notwithstanding it may bee that there haue not been three thousand Frenchmen, whereas the straungers haue been fifteene, or twentie thousand persons. And if at any time we haue had the vpper hand of our enemies, the glorie hath not been attributed so wholly vnto vs, but that euery one of the other nations haue looked to haue had their parts in it. And if perchaunce any man hath sayd the Frenchmen haue had the victorie in such a battell, it hath been by and by cast in his nose, thanke such and such, and there is reason it should be so, seeing it is so that they haue done it. So much a do there is to keepe our good name, as there were no better way then to let them alone, that from hencefoorth they should neither be the occasion of our winnings nor losings: but that euery man should meddle with his owne quarrell, and that wee Frenchmen should bee let alone to debate the controuersies we haue with our neighbours, without intermingling other nations, which haue but a little care to dye for vs. And who make so little accompt of the matter as we see that they do, because it toucheth them nothing, for all the thought that they haue, is to finde many occasions to lengthen the warres, to the intent that they may alwaies bee set a worke. And for to be without them there is no order taken, because of the little accompt that wee do make of our selues. I say then, that a Prince ought to serue him selfe with his owne subiects, for the reasons before alleadged. And if we will be warned by things past, wee haue many examples before our eyes for this matter. As by Emppres which are come to ruine through this fault, (to werte) both that of the Romans, and also of the Greeks. For the Romane Emppre after it was mounted vnto the highest in the time of Augustus Caesar, began to descend, when the Romane citizens were reiected out of the hoasts which the Emperours did make. And that they grounded themselues vpon the force of mercenaries, and those whom they before time had conquered. And although the

great vertues and iudgement that were in the said Caesar, maintained the maiestie of the Emppye while he liued : yet is it so, that his successors learning of him to wage other nations then Romans; as Frenchmen, Spanyards, Almaines and others, haue been the occasion of the ruine of the same : for all the Emperours that were after Augustus Caesar, would keepe an hoast of straungers hard vnder the walles of the citie of Rome, which was called the Pretorie, & was such as we would say the guard that kings haue for the assurance of their persons: but this guard was of ten or twelue thousand chosen men, much like vnto the Hammeluks of the Souldane, or the Janissaries of the Turke : which manner although it seemed at the first sight to haue been for the profit of the Emppye ; notwithstanding it turned it oftentimes vpsidowne: because that this number of Soldiers disposed of that dignitie at their pleasure, being vpon the place and in armes, against naked men and vnarmed. On the other side, the other armies which were in Fraunce, Barbarie, and elsewhere, would stand in their owne conceits, the one naming one to be Emperour, and the other another: insomuch that sometime there were two or thre pretendants: who in thinking to consume one another, consumed the Emppye, which had cost so much the getting: a thing that they were ignozant of. But after that, most of the Emperours were of straunge nations, as the soldiers which had made them, were : it was an occasion that they had lesse care of the preservation of the Emppye : then if they had been bozne within the citie. Whereof insued, that as well those that were declared Emperours, as those that had elected them, marched against the sayd citie with one consent as against their enemies, with intent to triumph ouer it. And God knowes whether that these things might be handled, without the committing of many robberies, & insolencies in those chaunges, and also of many murders aswell of the Emperours themselves, as of the Senators, & other great personages in Rome. Certainly wee must say that it was impossible, seeing that wee may beleue, that if the institutions which the Romanes had at that time that their vertue flourished, had been alwaies maintained, that was to make warre with their owne people, and not

to haue waged straungers, nor likewise to haue suffered their neighbours and alliance in their camps, in greater number then they themselves were, their Emprye had not been deuoided, nor had not been transported out of their hands, nor their citie so many times destroyed, and abandoned as it hath been. For if they had maintained their first manner of warre, they had escaped all their inconueniences, and had brought all their enterprises to as happie ende, as they did while they serued themselves with their owne citizens. Michaelle Paleologus the Emperour of Constantinople, may likewise be an example: who calling a number of Turkes to his aide to make warres against certaine princes of Greece that rebelled against him, shewed them the way to passe out of Asia into Europe, and therevpon the said Turkes tooke occasion to come vpon Greece with great force, and to inuade it by little and little. Of which mischiefe the sayd Emperour was cause, for that he chose rather to cause straungers to come to his assistance, then to take vp in his countrie those that were necessarie for him to make his warres withall, with whom, if he had would, he might with little labour haue vanquished a Lord of Bulgarie, his subiect, and haue chastened him without thrusting an armie of Turkes into his countrie, who if they had not come there, Greece had not suffered the miseries which it hath suffered in time past, and which it must yet euery day suffer. And therefore without hauing regard vnto the old opinion, that is to say: whether the countrie be cold or hot, and to withstand the manifold inconueniences that may happen vnto those that may make their warres with the helpe of straungers, me thinke that euery Prince ought to strengthen himselfe with his subiects, without making any accompt to hyper others: or at the least if he would be serued with strangers, not to make them his principall force, for the daunger that might happen. As for to commit the person of a king, or of the greatest personage of a kingdome, vnto the trust of those that are not his subiects, and who loue him not, and the seruice which they do him is but for a few crownes: is a counsaile grounded vpon no reason, because it is to bee thought that straungers are much more easie to bee corrupted, then those that are borne and bred in the

same countrie that their king is . The preservation of whom, ought to bee more deare vnto them, then vnto those that serue him but for his monie: which once failing, they abandon him as if they had neuer knowne him. Whereupon I may alleadge that which a great troope of Launceknights did vnto Monsiure Montpensier in Naples: who left him there at the mercie of the Spanyards, only because his monie failed, and that the enemies promised them payment at their first arrivall and assoone as they were turned from that parte, which was cause of the losse of the same kingdome the first time. And not to accuse the Almaines only, I say that the Switzers left Monsiure de latrec at that time that the terme of their payment was expired: because they doubted that they should haue borrowed vpon the moneth following. And although that the sayd Switzers did not go from vs vnto our enemies: yet euery man knoweth well that they forsooke the sayd Lord when as his enemies were equall vnto him in strength, which was cause of the losse of the Dutchie of Millain. Since that the Grisons departed from our campe before Paue, and abandoned the King his person, euen at that instant that the Spanyards were determined to hazard the battell, and to assault him, which happened within few daies after; so that the going away of those bands did greatly weaken our armie (for they were sixe or eight thousand) and was cause that the enemy did enterprise more boldly to assault vs, and that our men were more discouraged to receiue them, in so much that putting thereunto the euil behauiour of our Switzers, who went away without striking stroke we lost the battell. Whereby appeareth plainly, the little trust that is to bee giuen vnto straungers: and how dangerous it is for vs to repose our state in their forces. Whosoever he were, I wil not be of opinion that a King should make his force of straungers, nor that he should entertaine so many, that they should bee of equall force with his owne subiects, if it were so that he were constrained to take any. For if the straungers be as strong as his owne people, and that it were necessarie that the sayd straungers should doe any thing that were contrarie vnto their mindes, which they refused, they must bee fought withall, or there will bee no obedience:

dience : but if they finde themselves the weaker, they will neuer haue the heart to disobey nor to busie themselves with the authoritie of a Captaine Generall, as they are when there is no meane to bryde them. For which cause a Prince that might find himselfe in extremitie, not to be obeyed of the straungers which he might retaine, ought to haue in his campe such a number of his owne subiects, that if he were driuen to vse force, they might be of power sufficient to constrain the rebels to accomplish his will. For otherwise there will be nothing done, because the seruice of the sayd Prince will be slacke, and sometime a disobedience may be cause of many great damages, as was that of the Almaines which Monsiure de Humiers had with them in Italie, which made the King not only to lose all that season, but also was cause of the losse of diuers places that held for vs, and put all Piemount in great daunger to be lost without recouerie. And this is most certaine, insomuch that if the Lord Constable had any whit deferred to succour them, and had not vsed his accustomed diligence, that which was left had fallen in fewe daies after into the Spaniards hands, without striking stroke. Yet he arriued so luckely, that the townes that had but the newes of his comming were preserued, and part of those that were lost were recouered, and others also, but not without a merueilous charge : and all to repayre the fault of the foresayd Almaines, who had conducted the warres, both according vnto their owne appetites, & against the will of the sayd Lord of Humiers, as euery man knoweth, who besides that he was disobeyed in his charge, being Lieutenant Generall for the King, was also in hazard of his life, which is a thing that I cannot so much merueill at: nor likewise at the arrogancie of the sayd nation. But I must much more merueill at our negligence, seeing the iniuries that straungers commonly do vnto vs, and that we notwithstanding cease not to dispraise the seruice of our countrimen, to become tributaries and subiects vnto straungers: as if we could not do without them now, as well as wee haue done at other times, and alwaies vntill the time of King Lewes the 11. who was the first King of Fraunce that did giue pension vnto straungers, especially vnto the Switzers, for he kept ordinarily in

wages fixe thousand . King Charles the 8. followed him, who carried a great band to Naples. King Lewes the 12. serued him self long time with them, and with Almaines, and other strangers . So likewise hath the King that raigneth at this present in all his warres : yet in the ende he perceiued that his subiects were as fit to serue him as straungers; so that they were practised, or if he hath not had y opinion of the Frenchmē, yet he hath made a prooue of it . And to that ende (as I thinke) haue a very great number of Legionaries been leuied in this realme, which number if it had been leuied by a true election, had been sufficient to haue withstood all our enemies . But the Frenchmens fortune would not that this leuie should haue had his perfection: for that if this leuie had been made as it ought to haue been, wee should haue been become their maisters , vnto whom wee now are subiects. Wherefore it hath left vs in the same state that wee haue been learned to liue in many yeares ago : and for that wee make so little accompt of our owne forces , and do so much esteeme of straungers , it may one day happen to be the occasion of our ruine, if our neighbours should enterprise ioyntly to come vpon vs. For one part alone hath put Fraunce in great feare: to witte, the Switzers , when as they came downe into Burgundie, so y to make them to retier back againe it cost vs great sommes of monie. And so much fayled we of the courage to present our selues in battell to resist them , that the greatest part made their accompt to make them place, and to runne out of the country. O almightie God! what was become of the ancient valour of Fraunce ? At the name whereof all the nations both on this side, and on the other side of the sea did tremble: and which was in possibilitie to assault other countries, and not to be troubled at home , but by her owne : nor constrained to buy peace, sith those that sould it vnto vs , were in fewe yeares befoze not able to resist in their owne countrie , the armie of King Charles the 7. vnder the conduct of Lewis his sonne , being at that time Dauphine, & since king. We may beleue that their comming down was for our profite, sith they serue vs for an example, for by the great troubles that Fraunce was in: for 20. or 30. thousand Switzers, all a foote ill furnished with artillerie, and with
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all other things to inuade such a countrie, may bee coniectured what it would do if the same Switzers should come againe. And furthermore, if the Almaignes, Flemings, Englishmen, Spanyards, and Italians, should come vpon vs with one common consent, who could want nothing but good agreement, I could not imagine how we should find meane to withstand such a coniuration. For to carrie to make hed vnto them, were a much worse counsaile then that of Monsiure Tremouille was, to appease the Switzers with crownes; because that disordred people, ill trained, and ill furnished, cannot serue for any other purpose against people well ordred, well trained, and well furnished with armes, and withall that appertaineth vnto such a busines: but to harten and to encourage them the more. And as for vs to trust vnto, that the frontiers are well furnished with strong townes, is a hope euill assured: for whosoever is Lord of the plaine countrie, I meane of so great and large a countrie as Fraunce is, shall easily afterward haue the vpper hand of the places that they keepe: principally when so great a number, or a great part of those that I haue spoken of, shall enter in at diuers places, euery nation vpon his quarter, & that they had deuided the countrie before hand. For else we might haue some reason to hope y in forbearing, they might seperate themselves through discord, or that a part taking might be practised: notwithstanding these things must haue time, and in the meane while wee should suffer many euills to be committed before our eyes without remedie. And suppose that to see such a desolation to come to passe vpon so noble a realme, were almost a thing impossible: yet is there none more apparant remedie to withstand it, and to take away from our sayd enemies all the occasions that might hinder them from the conceipt of this impossibilitie, then to make our selues strong with our owne people: I meane so strong, that those that now do take pension of vs, should be very glad to be simplie allied vnto vs: and others which priuilie haue shewed themselves to be our enemies, should be constrayned to dissemble: and those which dissemble, should openly shew themselves to be our friends by good prowe. Which to bring to passe, I would not counsaile that our force should be any whit mingled

with straunge souldiers, aswell for to haue the credite vnto our selues, when as our souldiers should do any good seruice, as also to auoyde the great daungers that might happen by an armie made of many nations: for that is the occasion oft times that our enemies do knowe our secrets almost as soone as they are spoken: except it should be to weaken our enemies, or to content our confederats, and to get the good will of the countrie where the warres should be made, as I thinke the King doth by the Italians: in waging of whom he thinketh to get the hearts of all Italic, & in waging the Switzers to keepe them: and mozeouer to take away the forces of Germanie from those that might vse them against him, except they retayned a great number. And if so be that the King would bee serued with any number of these nations, he may do it (as I thinke) forseeing that his owne bee alwaies the stronger: and that he vse strangers as assistants, but not to giue them the preheminences and aduantages that they are accustomed to haue amongst vs: as to haue the charge of the Artillerie, and commonly to make the battell, not being subiect vnto labours and assaults, as the Frenchmen are, who are alwaies appoynted vnto the Quantgard, or Arereward, so that those of least value and straungers, haue alwaies the credite of the battell, as those whom wee ought to trust aboue all others, without whom wee haue not the courage to enterprise the least thing that may bee. I do not enuie them for the honoz that is done vnto them, knowing well that the places wherein the Frenchmen serue bee very honozable, and that in them they may shew themselves to be such as they are, aswell in the Arereward, as in the battell, and in the battell as in the Quantgard; it is all one: for there may be enough to do in euery place. But I would that the King should haue so good an opinion of vs, as to thinke that he might bee aswell serued of vs as of any other nation: and that he would not determine to make himselfe strong rather with Switzers and Almaines, then with vs. For if they do now excell vs for order, wee may either bee equall vnto them, or better then they in a short time. And for other poynts, I see no reason to esteeme them moze then our selues: and who so would narrowly looke into them, shall finde that they do rather

ther serue vs with their name then with their deedes, and rather to make number then otherwise: for that at this instant there is almost no battell giuen; for which they say they serue, and are waged only to that end. Moreover, they go not to assaults nor skirmishes, nor such other seruices; but all these seruices are for vs, which manner of warre is now more vsed then other: so that they serue and take their wages, not putting their persons in daunger. They take it not as the Frenchmen do that serue the King: for they haue the payne and the daunger, and the straungers the profite and the reputation. One thing there is that maketh greatly for the Switzers & Almaines, which is the good order that they haue amongst them, as well for the raunging of their men in battell, as in obeying their Chiefs: wherof we haue a great want. Therefore we must proue to take their course, or any other more sure, and therein employ such diligence, that if the king would be wholly & euery where serued by vs, he might find himselfe to bee well serued, and not repent the leauing of straungers for vs. So it is, that by the ordaining of the legions, euery one thought that the custome to wage other then Frenchmen, would haue bin laid aside. But the king perceiuing that the leuie had many imperfections in it, and that it should not haue been wisely done immediatly to reiect the seruice of others; hath therefore kept them, and a great part of our legions, and also certaine bands of aduenturers, both to content the one and the other, and to assure himselfe on euery side. But if the kings meaning had been well executed in that which they should haue done after these legions were ordayned, we might haue hoped that it would haue bin a very good time for vs. But whereas the Capitaines and officers should haue taken paynes to trayne their souldiers well, they haue done nothing. It may be also that they had no expresse commaundement to do it: and those that haue no great good willes of themselves, do quickly finde an excuse. I doubt also that the legionaries being leuied in that order that they were leuied in, would not well haue agreed vnto it: so that the fault proceeded of more causes then of one, but principally hereof that euery one was a voluntarie, and that there was none introulled but of their owne freewill. And the custome at
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this day is, that those that offer themselves, are commonly the worst of the countrie; for very hardly will a good householder inroule himselfe, or a quiet man that feareth God, and iustice, and loueth his neighbour: for these conditions agree not with the voluntarie souldiers of the time present, who are so vicious, that it is to bee feared that their seruice may do vs more hurt then our owne ill fortune; forasmuch as God is offended by them in all manner of sorts. Besides, they are but too valiant; but so euill conditioned, as it is not possible that they might bee more. I will not say that all the voluntaries are so; because I should do wrong vnto many honest men: but I speake of the greatest parte, and not of all: and as I say that they are ill conditioned, so I dare say that there is no good order in them, and they are not so obedient, as it is requisite they should bee, to exercise the arte of the warres as it ought to bee. Wherefore it is impossible that a Captaine, how vertuous or diligent soeuer he bee, should make his Souldiers to imitate the manners of the souldiers of the old time, who were men of so great a valour. Nor likewise can one of our Lieutenants Generall for the king, bring into his host, the manner which the armies in time past obserued, as well in ordning, and raunging their battailes, as in fight: without imitating of which manner, it will be impossible to do any thing ought worth. The reason is, for that the stuffe, whereof our hosts are compounded and framed, is so euill of it selfe, that to think to applie it to any good vse would be in vaine, and to hope to bring the arte Militarie vnto her first state would be all one: for with lesse labour would newe souldiers be forged, then those which already haue their shape, be reformed as they ought to be. But if it pleased the king to make a newe leuie according vnto a true electiō, which might afterward be instructed diligently in Partiall discipline; I beleue assuredly that those Souldiers would imitate the auncient Souldiers in all things, wherein they were thought to haue been more excellent then those, that haue been since the feates of armes are come to nothing. And furthermore, a Generall might easilie establish the ancient customes in his host, & by that meanes the king should find himself to be the best serued that euer was prince, and might
 bragge

bragge that he had the best souldiers, and the best ordred men that were vpon the earth: and for to haue them to bee such, it were necessarie for the first Item, that those which should bee chosen should bee the most honest men, and men of best life that were possible to bee founde in the king his countrie, and for the rest to leaue that vnto the Chiefs which should haue the charge to traine them: for they might make them afterwards such as they would haue them to be. And for to leuie these honest men of whome I speake, the king should at the first make a small force, and constrain them to inroule themselves, or the election would not bee perfect. And to the intent that this force should giue no man discontentment, they must be wonne vnto it, with the hope of some profite, and honor in time to come, and of some priuiledges, which must bee promised vnto those that shall do their indeuour: and that during the time that they shall serue, they shall haue wherewithall to maintaine themselves honestly. Through this meanes, it should not bee needfull to drawe any man by the eares: especially if they knewe that the king would be discontented with those that should looke to bee payed. In this doing the arte Militarie would returne to her first force, and the king should bee the first that should finde ease in it, and consequently his people. The thefts which many Captaines do commit in their musters should haue no more place: & the perely pensions which straungers haue, would make their end, neither would they runne as they are accustomed: because he should haue enow of his owne: besides, the ording of them would be such, as he should not neede to doubt any thing but the displeasure of God: as for men they could not hurt him. And to bee short, the people should bee no more driuen away, eaten, nor pillaged by our owne souldiers as they are: also we should bee so much the more assured against our enemies, and furthermore enriched, or at the least, the monie that the sayd straungers do carrie away, would carrie with vs. All which things do make me to conclude, that the King should do well to employ his owne people, as often as it shall bee necessarie to make warre for the profite and preservation of his realme: and should repose all his defence in the vertue of the French armies, seeing that he hath
better

better meanes to do it then any prince liuing may haue, or any prince that hath been euer had. And this my conclusion is so well proued, that I need not to stay longer vpon this matter: but go forward to speake mine opinion of the course that must be taken to make a newe leuie in Fraunce, and to conduct it from degree to degree, vnto that poynt it must be brought vnto, to make the souldiers to be such as I haue promised, and the armie to be inuincible, and incomparable.

The number of Souldiers that might bee leuied in
Fraunce.

The 2. Chapter.



This kingdome is so inuironed on euery side with diuers nations, & loue it but a little, that to assure it against them, it had need of a very great number of souldiers, and such a number as our legionaries were; but the charge that this multitude would cost would be insupportable: and on the other part, the pay of foure franckes, and the exemption of another francke scot and lot yearly, would not bee sufficient to make them to be contented and bound vnto the due tie that this busines requireth, to do seruice with them neither for sayre nor foule: so that to make such a leuie would cost much, and yet our force should be nothing thereby augmented, for that they would serue against their willes, seeing the payments to be so little. Wherefore it were better to take a lesse number of people, and to giue them reasonable wares, then to take a great number, and to haue them the better cheape. And that the sayd people might be of abilitie to apparell themselves honestly twise a yere, and defray their owne charges in going and comming from the musters they should make, without eating the people, as the souldiers do at this present. And moreover, if they were called out to go to the warres, that from the day that they put themselves in a readines to march, their pay should bee so augmented, that it might maintaine them in apparell and victuall, according vnto their qualitie. And the Chiefs, Members, and
Officers,

Officers, should be maintained both in time of peace and warre, with the same wages that the Legionaries had heretofore. As concerning that, I say wee should take vp so many the lesse: I meane, not that this number should bee so greatly diminished, but that being assembled, it might make the iust forme of an hoast: as some five and twentie thousand footmen, or there about. For otherwise it would bee a leeping of men for to spend monie, but not to do seruice: specially for that a small number in short time would come to nothing, because of the infinite mishappes that oftentimes happen vnto men, so that there must bee euer and anon newe men inroulled, to fill the bands that should lacke. And for that the sayd number could not bee raunged and exercised as they ought to bee, if they were leuied in places farre distant one from another: because they could not be assembled, when they should bee trayned and exercised, without great expences: and it is a thing necessarie to bring them often times together: for not being practised, they could not bee made seruiceable.

It were good that the first leuie that should be made, should be ordained vpon the frontiers, who are most subiect vnto the courses of their neighbours, in those countries which lie neere adioynning together: As if wee doubted the Almaines, this leuie might bee made in Campaigne, Burgundie, and Daulphine. And who so feared the Spanyards, might provide in Languedoc, and Guyne: for these are the countries borderers: and so likewise in others. Upon which countries borderers the sayd 25. thousand men should bee leuied, and should be practised a yere, two, or three, vntill that they might bee thought to be sufficient good souldiers. And that terme expired, a newe leuie might be made in other places: who also should bee practised as long. And afterward to followe in order throughout all the other countries and frontiers of Fraunce, vntill that all had been gone through, and then to begin a newe to bring into order those that were first inroulled: and consequently the second, and afterwards the others. And that those that should rest while th'others were trained (for I meane that there should bee but the number abovesayd maintained at once) should bee bound

bound vpon paine of great punishment to exercise themselves particularly in their houses, and together, if they might do it without expence, to the intent that they might alwaies remember and keepe that which had been shewed them touching the feate of the warre. The roubles likewise of those that I ye still should bee kept in their intiere, not suffering any man in the meane while to bee discharged, nor that any mans name should bee blotted out, but with the leaue of the Lord Constable, although the king do giue him no wages for the time; because that they might carrie while their turne did come about, or bee imploied, if we had neede to defend our selues: for that they would be readier to be sent for, and leuied, then if vpon euery occasion there should be newe men, and newe roubles made. This done, the king should find that there would be a great number of men of warre leuied, and practised within sixe yeares, which would bee so well ordered and fit for the warre, that the one halfe (to weet fiftie thousand, for so many would the one halfe mount vnto, or very nere) would suffice to make resistance vnto a whole world of enemies, and the King should not feeble how: sith that he should not wage but 25. thousand at once, or thereabout.

But if this counsaile were misliked, it would bee sufficient to withstand the sodaine courses of our neighbours, if the sayd 25. thousand should be leuied vpon the foure frontiers, that are most in hazard of this daunger; which number might bee ordinarily maintained as is aforesayd. And put case that this were done, or that I spake of before: wee must not therefore feare that the sayd souldiers might do any disorder in the countries that they are leuied in: (although me thinke it were to be doubted) for that all the disorder that such sort of people can do is after two manners: to weet, among themselves, or against others. As for the disorder that may happen amongst themselves, while they are vnder their Ensignes, the lawes that are provided for those men that are leuied by way of ordinaries, do forsee into it; who punish greenuously quarrellers, mutins, and all other sort of people that commit any crime, as shall be shewed toward the ende of this booke. And there is nothing that can saue or defend them from greuous punishment what armies soeuer they were; because
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the King shall alwaies be stronger then they, and they must rather be taken at the holding by of a finger, then that one offence should escape unpunished. And when all is sayd, the Almaine souldiers do gouerne themselves well vnder a lawe, and do well maintaine iustice amongst them, who vse in their countrie (I meane out of their great towne) a more greater libertie to do euill, then the most corrupted of ours in Fraunce: and notwithstanding, contrarie vnto their nature and custome, they submit themselves humbly vnto the iustice of a Prouost, when as they haue occasion to go into a straunge countrie, or when as they are leuied to carrie at home vpon their owne dunghill. What would then in truth our souldiers do, who are bred in a countrie that is gouerned by lawes, & which doth punish offences more rigorously then any other that is knowne: truly me thinke that they would liue at the least as honestly as the Almaines do, and also would not be lesse obedient vnto their Chiefs, and vnto those whom they ought to obey. Touching the faults that they may commit at home amongst their neighbours, the ordinarie Iustice of the place where they dwell will punish them: as the King his declarations made vpon this poynt do instruct vs: by which he pretendeth, that the iustice of the Colonells should take place for the offences of their Legionarie souldiers, but only while they were in campe, or elsewhere vnder their Ensignes: of whom they are to execute good and shor't punishment: but when they are returned, or that they are not leuied to go into the field, the ordinarie iustice should punish them. But if so bee that the sayd souldiers would exempt themselves from the ordinarie iustice by force, and that through their great number they would bee the readier and boulder to do mischief, in ioyning themselves together, or make any shewe to leuie themselves without expresse commaundement of their Colonells, to the intent to ouerrunne and spoyle the countrie, or to vse force vnto any man: in these cases it may bee lawfull for the people to rise, and to put themselves in armes to strengthen iustice if it were required; without whose authoritie, or the commaundement of some royall officer, and that also of the chiefest sort, I am not of opinion that the people should rise: for it is to be feared that they

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would

would do more insolencies then the souldiers themselves, as did those that lately rose at Tours and thereabout: who in fewe daies did more hurt and damage vnto honest men, and vnto the places they passed through, then the malefactorz whome they pursued, had done in all the time that they kept the feilds.

And after this manner I beleue wee ought to vnderstand the king his institutions made in the yeare 1523. by which he permitteth the people to defend their goods against a companie of henne eaters, which do sometimes thrust themselves vpon the countrie without commission. But for that it is a most hard matter that souldiers should commit any offence but that the Chieffes should immediatly bee informed of it, who oftentimes make shewe not to vnderstand of their faults, being negligent in reforming them: yea and sometimes giue them example to do euill: so that the misdemeanour of the Souldiers both proceede asmuch of the Captaine his fault, as of the euill disposition of the Souldiers. Therefore I say, it must bee narrowly looked into, that those wicked Chieffes may be punished with rigour, to the intent that they may bee an example vnto others their like to amend themselves: and vnto the good to bee more rarefull to punish their euill doers. And if this leue should bee thought daungerous, for the aduantage it might giue vnto Colonells, who might so winne their Souldiers hearts, as that they might vse them at their willes, through their long authoritie ouer them, and continuall frequentation: The surest way would bee oftentimes to chaunge Colonells, and to giue such charges vnto those that befoze had made some pꝛoofe of their loyaltie vnto the king, and then it would not be to be feared that they should helpe themselves with their forces against the king, nor his subiects, as I thinke. For there is no man in Fraunce, but had rather continue poore in his obedience, being accompted for an honest man, then to serue his enemies to become rich, and to be accompted for a traytoꝝ and a wicked man. But if perhaps there were any Colonell that would make pꝛoofe of any commotion by meanes of his authoritie, the King should alwaies bee strong enough to ouerthrowe him, and to cut his followers in pꝛieces with little difficultie. This inconuenience then need no
more

more to be doubted; because that those that heretofore encouraged the people to rise, are extinct, and their Dutchies and countries ioyned vnto the Crowne: insomuch that there is no man in Fraunce that dare perswade any Souldier to put himselfe into the feeld, to diminish the King his authoritie, nor to enterprise against his Maiestie. And although he should thinke to do it, who is there to fauour him against the Kings power?

The maner how to leuie Souldiers and to inroule them, and the qualities that are requisite to be in a newe Souldier.

The 3. Chapter.



D leuie the aforesayd number of 25. thousand Souldiers, it should bee first necessarie to consider in what countries the sayd leuie should bee made; and withall it behoueth to name the Captaines that should gouerne them: vnto which Captaines the sayd countries must bee assigned either by Bishopricks, or Stewardships, where euery one of them ought to leuie his men by themselves. And this done, they may be sent vnto the places with their commissions, which should bee addressed vnto some notable personage of the countrie, or royall officer, who should bee inioyned to assist the sayd Captaine vntill his number were complet, causing him to be obeyed in euery popnt according vnto the tenour of his commission, compelling all the inhabitants of the townes and villages vnder their charge, to shew themselues before him. And this ought to bee done, not touching them that are exempted from such publike seruices by the lawes, or by expresse priuiledges; as Church-men, Gentlemen, Royall officers, and Iudges; but to choose amongst all others, not exempting any of those that shall bee thought most fittest for the warres, taking the number that may be leuied according vnto the householders, be it of euery 20. one, or of 60. one, as it was handled at that time that the Kings of Fraunce serued themselves with free Archers. And that in these cases there bee no subtiltie vsed, nor that any one bee supported by fauour, or otherwise, but that

without exception the fittest men should bee chosen, and those that haue some patrimonie: and the reason why I would haue them to bee somewhat worth is, because that they are readier to be found, then those that haue nothing to lose. For when any of these should commit any crime, or should runne away, his goods and lands might then pay the reckoning, which might be inroulled in the kings booke: the seruice of whom ought to be preferred befoze a perticular profite. For this leuie is not only profitable vnto the king; but also most necessarie for all his subiects: for that we haue not the worth of one haire well assured, without armes: because that straungers are rather like to hurt, then helpe vs; without whose ayd (hauing no souldiers of our owne) we should at all times be eaten, and toymented by our neighbours. With then, that armes are so necessarie for vs, as that we cannot be without them, who is he that would haue all set at fire and seauen? We may exercise armes, and yet not leaue our owne busines vndone, because the souldiers may bee bound to assemble only vpon idle daies to practise their armes together: which would neither be hurtfull vnto the people nor countrie: but rather recreate yong men, that otherwise spend their time vpon holidaies in running to the Cauernes, for want of other honest pastime, especially the exercise of armes, whereunto I am sure they would go moze willingly. For as it is a great pleasure vnto the beholders to see the managing of armes: so likewise would it greatly delight yong men to handle and to exercise them. Moreover, I say that it is not so newe a thing, but that the like hath been heretofore vled in Fraunce: to weet, the exercising of armes, throughout the townes and villages of the kingdome, and prizes set vp for the best deseruers: and therefore my sayings ought not to be thought straunge nor hurtfull: for I speake not of any thing that hath not been befoze ordained by the kings of Fraunce, and in our time, by the king that raigeth at this present. But leauing that aside, let vs say that in the election of the people here spoken of, there ought to bee a regard had of their age: we must chosse them then from 17. yeares old, to 35. For it was forbidden by an auncient lawe made by Caius Gracchus when he was Consull in Rome, to chosse any yonger

yonger then 17. yerres of age: and in my iudgement, any yonger could not indure the labours appertayning vnto the warres. And who so should inroule them of 35. or at the vttermoſt 40. ſhould take them too aged to inſtruct them well in the ſeates of armes, and to ſerue himſelfe with them afterwards 15. or 20. yeares, or more, according vnto the Kings affayres, or his good pleaſure: For in times paſt the ſouldiers followed the warres ſometime twentie yerres, and ſometime thirtie, or ſourtie yerres, as is to be ſeene in the firſt booke of Cornelius Tacitus, where he ſpeaketh of the chaunges of the Legions that were in Hungarie, who during all that time of their lying there, nor at any time elſe, could not withſtand themſelues from their hands, except they would incurre paynes that fugitiues deſerued, without the leaue of the Senate, or of the Emperour: likewiſe they were in the ende well recompenced for their long ſeruiſe, when the legions were diſcharged, either in monie, or in lands, which the Senate diſtributed vnto euery one according vnto his qualitie, or the Emperour himſelfe ſometimes of his owne, not touching the common treaſure. And as for the looking into the facultie, and to coniecture thereby the goodnes, or lazines of a ſouldier, it maketh no matter ſo that he be fit to exerciſe the labours of the warres. Yet in truth I would ſomewhat forſee to ſerue my ſelfe with the greateſt commoditie that I might: for there are occupations that are very neceſſarie for an armie, as Bakers, Armourers, Spur-makers, Carpenters, Wheelewrights, men that are accuſtomed to worke in Mines, Shoemakers, Taylers, Sadlers, and ſuch like, of all which it would be good to take a great number: for they may ſerue with their occupations when need requireth, and do the duetie of ſouldiers alſo.

As touching the knowing of them by their phiſnomie, that are fit to beare armes, that ſhall be left vnto thoſe that haue no experience of the warres, for it will ſuffice the others that haue experience, to looke that they haue ſound limmes: and whether they bee reputed to bee honeſt men in the townes and villages where they are taken by. The beſt tokens to knowe them by, that are fitteſt for this occupation, are liuely and quicke eyes,

straight headdes, high breasted, large shoulders, long armes,
 strong fingers, little bellied, great thighes, slender legges, and
 drie feete; all which poynts are comely in any man who so might
 finde them ordinarily: because he that is so shaped, cannot faile
 to be nimble and strong; which are two qualities to bee greatly
 required in all good souldiers: notwithstanding, we must not re-
 fuse those that haue not all these qualities before spoken of, so
 that otherwise they be sound. Aboue all things we must haue a
 regard that these newe men bee honestly conditioned, according
 vnto their qualitie, and that they bee not such as make of vice a
 vertue: for, else it would bee a chusing of instruments to make
 newe disorders euery day, and to corrupt others that of them-
 selues are worth nothing: sith that in an ill minde, a dishonest
 hodie, and a cankered heart, there can neuer enter nor dwell any
 poynt of vertue. If then the souldiers may be found well condi-
 tioned at the first, there must bee order taken that they may so
 continue while they are in their hands, and therefore it should
 be necessarie that they might alwaies be occupied to keepe them
 from idlenes: and this occupation should be either in doing their
 owne busines, or in exercising their armes, which they might
 vse vpon holidiaies, and vpon other daies attend vnto their own
 busines, and labour in their science: and they that haue no occu-
 pation, ought to bee constrained to learne one within a certaine
 time. I speake of those that are no gentlemen, to the intent that
 they may haue maintenaunce, when as the warres are ended,
 that haue no lands. In this doing the king should finde himselte
 without comparison to bee better serued of them, then he is of
 those who make the warres their occupation. At the vttermost,
 if the danger that might happen by this leuie should be thought
 to be asmuch as the profite, or more, and that the king his coun-
 sell rested vpon this conclusion, that it were more sure for to let
 his commons to sleepe in time of peace, then to awake them by
 putting armes into their hands. At the least, me thinke that
 when warres did happen, and when there is question to leuie
 men in Fraunce, wee ought to helpe our selues in chusing soul-
 diers after this manner: and that they should be compelled to in-
 roule themselves in such sort as I haue sayd, for which there
 must

must be good authoritie giuen vnto the Captaines, and likewise good time to choise and leuie them in. As for to leuie them, as we are accustomed, it hath no order in it; I meane if wee will haue men of seruice: for in this case the Captaines are constrained to receiue all that come vnto them, as well the good as the bad: and sometimes the worst do make themselves to be intreated, and to bee bought dearer then if they were any thing worth, and notwithstanding they must bee had if it were but to fill by the number. I would therefore that the Captaines might haue more time to make their hands then they haue, in which time they should bee bound to vse great diligence in trayning their men: and in trayning them to march toward the place of meeting, making small iornies to exercise them vpon the way.

How Souldiers ought to be armed and weaponed, both according vnto the manner that was vsed in the old time, and that which we do vse at this present.

The 4. Chapter.



After that these men are chosen, and inrouled, they must bee armed the best and surest way that may bee deuised, and in such sorte, that they may haue an aduantage of all other men. For which cause, me thinke it were good to examine what armes the auncient souldiers did beare, and those that wee

do vse at this day, to the intent to take those þ might be thought most surest. The Romanes deuided their footmen into heauie armed men, and into light armed men. They called their light armed men Velites, vnder which word were vnderstood all those that vsed Shings, Darts, and Bowes: the greatest part whereof (as saith Polibius) were armed with a Sallet, and carried a Target vpon their armes to couer themselves, and fought with out order a good distance from their heauie armed men. Those that were heauie armed, had a head-peere þ came down to their shoulders, and were armed vpon their bodies with curets,

whose tassettes did couer them vnto the knees. Moreover, their armes and legges were armed, and they carried a Shield that was foure foote long, and two foote broad, which Shield was bound with yron aloft and belowe, to keepe it from cleauing and wearing, and in the midst of it was a bolle of yron fastened, to abide blowes the better. Besides that, they had a sword girt to their left sides, on their right sides a short dagger, and in their hands a Dart called Pilum, which they threw when they began the combat. Some wrighters do say, that besides the foresayd Shield, they carried a Pike, namely the souldiers of Greece; but that should seeme impossible, for as much as they would haue been troubled enough to haue vsed one of those weapons alone: and as for to vse them both at once, would haue been but little for their ease, for the Pike alone requireth both hands. On the other part, the Shield serued but only to couer them, because it was not very maniable, nor likewise would the Target bee handled very well: for it would bee too combersome, except that at the beginning of the combat they should vse the Pike, hanging their Targets vpon their backs, and entring the approach so neere that the Pike might stand them in no more steade, they then casting it from them, might helpe themselves with their Targets and their Swordes. And as for those that do carrie the Pike, as if they could carrie nothing else: I say that if they did but thrust with their Pikes, the Target might hinder them nothing at all, although they should beare it in that manner that it ought to bee borne. The Greekes laded not themselves with so heauie harness as the Romanes did, but they gaue themselves more to the vse of the Pike, principally the Phalanges of Macedonia, who carried Pikes of ten cubites long, called Sarisses, with the which they enforced their enemies to beate their ranks, and yet kept themselves in order: but sith the Romanes did conquer the whole world, wee may beleue that they were the best armed of all others.

The fashio at this day is to arme a foot man with a corselet complete, or with a shirt of mail, and a head-piece, which me think is sufficient for the defence of a man, and I finde our manner of arming

ming to be better then the Romanes. And as for our offensive
 weapons, we do carry the sword as they did, but somewhat
 longer: the other weapons are the Pike, the Halbard, the Per-
 tisan, the Harquebuste, and many others lesse in vse amongst
 Souldyers, and the Target, but that there is but little accompt
 made of it, except it be for some assault, neither is there almost
 any man that will lade himselfe with it, except Captaines.
 The Harquebuste hath bin inuented within these fewe yeares,
 and is verie good, so that it be vlsed by those that haue skill, but
 at this present euery man will be a Harquebustier: I knowe not
 whether it be to take the more wages, or to be the lighter laden,
 or to fight the further off, wherein there must be an order taken,
 to appoint fewer Harquebustiers, and those that are good, then
 many that are worth nothing: for this negligence is cause that
 in a skirmish wherein tenne thousand Harquebustados are shot,
 there dieth not so much as one man, for the Harquebustiers
 content themselves with making of a noyse, and so shote at all
 aduentures. The Halbards are armes newly inuented as I
 thinke by the Switzers, which are very good, so that they be
 strong and sharpe, and not light, as those that the Italians do
 carry, more to make a faire shewe (as I thinke) then for any
 goodnesse that is in them, because they are too weake, and so
 likewise are the Pertisans, which being stronger and better
 Steele, might do good seruice against naked men, but against
 men that are well armed, they can do no great deede. Amongst
 other weapons least accustomed, are the Bowe and the Crosse-
 bowe, which are two weapons that may do very good seruice
 against vnarmed men, or those that are ill armed, specially in
 wet weather, when the Harquebustier loseth his season. And
 were it so that the archers and crossebow men could carry a-
 bout them their prouision for their bowes and crossebowes, as
 easily as y^e Harquebustiers may do theirs for their Harquebuste:
 I would commend them before the Harquebuste, as well for
 their readinesse in shooting, which is much more quicker, as also
 for the surenesse of their shot, which is almost neuer in vayne.
 And although the Harquebustier may shote further, notwith-
 standing the Archer and Crossebow man will kill a C. or CC.

pases off, aswell as the best Harquebusier : and sometime the
 harnessse, except it be the better, can not hold out : at the vtter-
 most the remedy is that they should be brought as neere befoze
 they do shoote as possibly they may, and if it were so handled,
 there would be moze slaine by their shot, then by twice as many
 Harquebusiers, and this I will prooue by one Crossebow man
 that was in Thurin, when as the Lord Harthall of Annibault
 was Gouvernour there, who, as I haue vnderstood, in fve or sixe
 skirmishes, did kill and hurt moze of our enemyes, then fve or
 sixe of the best Harquebusiers did, during the whole time of the
 siege. I haue heard say of one other only that was in the army
 that the King had vnder the charge of Mounseieur de Lautrec,
 who slewe in the battaile of Bycorque a Spanishe Captaine
 called Iohn of Cardone, in the lifting vp of his helmet. I haue
 spoken of these two specially, because that being employed a-
 mongst great stoze of Harquebusiers, they made themselues
 to be so knowne, that they deserued to be spoken of: what would
 a great number of sutch do ? But let vs passe further to speake
 of the Pike, of which, although the Switzers haue not ben the
 inuenters, yet haue they at the least brought it againe into vse,
 for that they being poore, and desirous to liue at libertie, were
 constrained to fight against the Princes of Germany, who be-
 ing rich, and of great power, did maintaine many Horsemen,
 which the said Switzers could not do: and therfore making their
 warres afoote, they were constrained to runne vnto the auncient
 manner, and out of it to chosse some armes wherewith they
 might defend themselues from the enemies Horsemen, which
 necessitie hath made them either to maintaine, or to finde out a-
 gaine the orders of times past, without which Pikes, footemen
 are wholly vnprofitable. They tooke therefore Pikes as wea-
 pons not only fit for to withstand Horsemen, but also to ban-
 quish them: by the help of which weapon, and through the trust
 they haue in their owne good order, they haue taken sutch a
 boldnesse, that fifteene, or twenty thousand of their men dare
 enterprise vpon a whole world of Horsemen, as they haue
 made pfooe at Nouare, and at Marignan, although the one
 battaile fell out better on their side then þ other. The examples
 of

of the vertue that these people haue shewed to be in them for
their feates of armes afore, haue caused since the voyage of
king Charles the 8. other nations to imitate them, specially the
Germaines and Spanyards, who are mounted vnto the reputa-
tion that we do hold them of at this day, by imitating the or-
ders that the sayd Switzers do keepe, and the manner of armes
they do carry. The Italians afterward haue giuen themselues
vnto it, and we lastly: but we are so farre off, that we shall neuer
be like vnto them for order, except we do make the vse of these
weapons to be of more estimation amongst vs then it hath bin
hitherto, so much there is also, that they can learne vs no other
point. We must therefore take paines to get this order, or if it
be possible, to finde or frame a more sure, by the meanes where-
of we might defend our selues, and excell other nations. And to
do this, we must arme our Souldiers well, to the intent that
they may be lesse in daunger of blowes, and the harder to be o-
uerthrowne: principally those that should serue in y^e first fronts
of the battailes, and also all others if it were possible, euery man
according vnto the weapon that he doth carry. The armes that
we must carry must be these, first of all the Corslet complet,
with the tassles downe to the knee, hose of male, a codypeere of
pyon, good vambraces, and gauntlets, or gloues of male, and a
good headpeere with a sight almost couered. The other harnesse
for the body must be a shirt or Jerkin with sleues, & gloues of
male, and a headpeere with the face vncouered. The weapons
must be these, a sword of meane length, which should be woꝛne
of a reasonable heigth, neither wholly after the manner of the
Frenchmen, nor altogether like vnto y^e Almaines: for the wea-
ring of it too lowe doth greatly trouble a Souldier. The short
dagger also is one of the most necessariest weapons, wherewith
in a pꝛease a man may better help himselfe then with a sword.
The Pike, & halbard, and amongst many halbards some Pertiz-
ans are also called weapons. The Target may not be called a
weapō, notwithstanding it is a very good pēce. The Harquebuste
likewise must be accompted amongst weapons, and the Bowe
and Crossebowe also. True it is that I would that these two
last should be caried by the people of the Countrey where they
haue

haue their most course, and but a certaine number of them. Those that do carry Pikes, should be deuised into ordinarie, and extraordinary. The ordinarie should be armed with a Corset in manner as is abovesaid, and should moreover carry a Target at their backs, wherewith they might help themselves after that they are come so nere vnto the enemy that the Pike could do them no more seruice, they might therewith also couer themselves from Bowmen and Crossebowes, & at assaults, for as much as y^e Pike is there a thing almost vnprofitable. And my saying must not be thought to be strange, for that I lade these men with so many kinds of harnesse, for I seeke but to arme the surely, as men that must carry by it, ought to be armed, and not like vnto those that arme themselves lightly; who being ill armed, do thinke rather to runne away then to vanquish. I take also mine example from the Romanes, who armed their souldiers which they appointed for their battailes, as heauy as they might possible to make them to stand the surer against their enemies, & that feeling their bodies so laden with harnesse, they should not hope to saue themselves by flight, but to dye in the place, or to win the victoꝝ. Vegetius complaineth y^e the Souldiers in his time were too light armed, and followed not the ancient Romanes, who commonly did surpasse & vanquish their enemies, because they were alwaies well armed, and the others ill armed. If our souldiers will then be accompted for to be valiant men then their neighbors, it is necessary that they should arme themselves as sure as they might possibly, chiefly those that should be the force of the battailes, and so likewise should y^e others that are for skirmishes, to giue their enemies the more trouble to defend themselves, and to be of the more force to resist them. And for this intent I say that the extraordinary Pikes should be armed with curets, sleeves of male, and with a good headpiece. The halbardes should be armed likewise after y^e same manner: and the Harquebusiers, Archers, and crossebowmen should be armed with a shirt & sleeves of male, and with a good headpiece: or for want of a shirt of male, they should haue cotes of plate, and good Jacks, yet they are almost out of season, but that maketh no matter, so there be any aduantage to be found by

by them. They ought to be furnished of all these armes by the King, but the armes should be better chosen then those were that were giuen vnto the other Legionaries. The Captaines must haue a care to disperse these armes, and to distribute them as they ought to be, giuing the heauyest armes, to w^et, the Pikes and Halbards, vnto the greatest and strongest men, and those which were meet to be handled by nimble fellows, should be giuen vnto the lesser sort of men, not forgetting to inrowle the armes and weapons that euery man doth take vpon him to beare, to make them to be coumptable for them, and to punish those that should alter their armes without leaue: for that after a Souldyer hath taken vpon him to carry a Pike, he may not take vpon him to carry a Harquebussie, without leaue of the Colonel: nor the Harquebussier may not take a Pike or a Halbard: for that if the Souldyers should be at libertie to change armes at their pleasure, the number of euery sort of armes would increase, or decrease at all houres: and I do intend that the number of euery sort of armes should be alwayes one, to raunge the Legions in battaile the readier. And if it should happen any of those that should make the bodie of the battaile to dye, or to be sicke, or to runne away, because the place should not be emptie, there must one of the Pikes of the flanks be put in his place. Of these Pikes of the flanks shall be moze spoken of hereafter. When as the armes are distributed, euery Captaine ought to furnish himselfe with certaine honest men, amongst whome, he shall chosse one of the most vertuous for his Lieutenant, and another for his Ensigne bearer, and the other for Officers: and for that these Offices ought commonly to be serued by Gentlemen, and I haue said before that Gentlemen should be exempted out of the leuy, at the first they must not be offered any wrong. But if so be that they do once inrowle themselues, they shall be bound afterward to serue the King in the same sort, and as long as the simplest of the Legionaries, and not be discharged after they haue once giuen their names, vntill the King do giue them leaue. It were good that a certaine tearme should be limited, as 15. yeares, or moze, at the King his discretion.

The

The manner how to distribute a great number of Souldyers into many bands, and how to bring many bands into one principall number.

The 5. Chapter.



He nations which hēeretofoze haue had ordinarie bands of souldiers, did make one principall number of the people which they leuied, which number althougħ it hath bēen diuersly named, yet hath it bēen almost one, because that they haue all instituted it to be betwixt sixe and eight thousand men, and this number by the Romaines was called *Legion*, by the Greekes *Phalange*, by the Frenchmen *Caterue*, and the Switzers & Almaines do tearme it in their language *Hourt*, which is as much to say, as *Battailon* in ours: & the Italians & Spanyards, do vse this word *Battailon*: but for that men chosen by election do deserue to be called *Legionares*, the King himselfe hauing vsed this tearme as the most fittest, I will vse it likewise as he hath done. And for that the Romanes (as sayth Vegetius) made their *Legions* of sixe thousand and one hundred men, I will make these *Legions* which I do ordaine, to be of the same number, and will afterwards deuide the said number into twelue bands, and therein I shall differ from them: for they deuided their *Legions* into tenne bands, of which they made their *Battailons*, and I will do as they did, and yet haue two bands for the Forlorne hope, for so I will tearme them that shall begin the *Battaile*. Euery one of the tenne Bands shall be gouerned by a Captaine, and vnder euery Captaine there shall be a Lieutenant, and an Ensigne bearer, one Sergeant of the Band, a Clarke, two Drums, and one Whife: and besides these members, and officers, euery Captaine shall haue fūe C. & ten men vnder his charge, the which shall be deuided into sixe small companies, which six *Corporals* or *Centeniers* shall gouerne, of which *Corporals*, fūe shall be reserued for y^e body of the *Battailon*, & the sixt shall serue for the flanks. Under euery *Corporall* there shall be four *Chefs* of *Squadrons*, vnder euery
 These

These there shall be two Deciniers, and vnder euery Decinier shall be nine men, so that euery Chiefe of Squadron shall gouerne twentie men, & he himselfe shall be the one and twentieth. The Corporall shall be Chiefe of 85. with his owne person. Foure of these Corporalls shall haue all their men to carry Pikes, and the fift shall haue all his to be Halbardiers, except that for to arme the flanks of the Halbardiers, euery one of the Deciniers vnder this Corporall shall haue three Pikemen, and all the rest shall be Halbardiers. Those of the sixt Corporall shall be the one halfe Pikemen, & the other halfe Harquebussiers, except that we would mingle some Archers amongst them, and make that the one chiefe of Squadron should haue all his men to be Harquebussiers, and that the other chiefe of Squadron should haue one Decene of his men to be all Archers, and the other Decene to be all Crossebowes, to the intent to haue seruice of these people, in places where the Harquebussiers should be vnseruiceable, as in the rayne, as is aforesaid, or to make any secret charge where the fire might discouer them, or in any other place where these two weapons might serue moze sure then the Harquebuste. The two bands of the Forlorne hope shall be 868. men, so that either of them shall be 434. men, one of this number shall be Captaine, and he shall haue the like number of members and officers that one of the ten Captaines haue in charge, and the rest shall be deuided into fve small companies, which shall be gouerned by fve Corporalls, euery one of which shall haue as many Squadrons and men, as one of the abouesaid Corporalls hath. Foure of these Corporalls shall haue all their men Harquebussiers, which may be mingled with Archers and Crossebowes who so would. And the fift shall haue all his Pikemen, which shall be called extraordinaries, because they shall fight out of order, not keeping ranke. The number of the Souldyers of all these twelue bands, is sixe H. and seauentie. Besides all which, there must be one chiefe Officer, aboue all the Captaines, who shall be called the Colonel, and he shall haue for his officers these that follow, to wete, a maister of the Camp, a Sergeant Major, a Prouost, and vnder the Prouost some wise man to assist him in his iudgements, and to counsaile him

him touching the administration of iustice. The said Provoost shall also haue a Clarke, certaine Sergeants, and a Hangman. Furthermoze it is necessary that the said Colonel should haue a minister or two to do the diuine seruice, & to administer the Sacraments vnto all y^e Legion. There must also be a Physitian, a Potheary, & a Chirurgeon, & some one that hath skill to make firewozks, & powder, & an Armozer, & the rest vntil the number of 30. places, with those that I haue now specified, may be reserued for the Colonel his gard. After y^e the number aforesaid is so distributed, there must be names giuen vnto the Captaine, the one must be named the first, another y^e second, & another the thirde, fourth, fift, sixt, seuenth, eight, nine, & tenth: and the other two shall be called Captaines of the Forlorne hope. And all the 12. Ensignes ought to be of one colour, & to haue some difference in fashion, or some barres to be knowne the better, and the readier to find the places that they ought to keepe in battaile. It were not amisse that the Souldiers were apparrelled like the colour of their Ensignes, to be the better knowne, and had some token or cognisance wherby the souldiers of the one band might be knowne from those of the other. The Cheses & officers should haue their head-pieces couered with some colour, or should haue skarfes whereby they might be knowne a farre off. In the manner aforesaid would I distribute a Legion: for it is the best way that I knowe to raunge a Battailon in such sort, that it might be as it were inuincible. And if it should seeme too hard to raunge this Legion in battaile in that forme that I will speake of heere following, & that the forme which we do vse at this present, in raunging our Legions, were thought to be moze easy & sure, & likewise that their manner & order were better liked, then the Legions that I pretend to erect; yet I am of opinion that the bands of the said Legions should be deuided in other sort then they yet haue bin, for they would be in better order to do any good seruice, then they now are, although their order be not euill such as it is. As for me I would order them after this manner, that is, that euery one of the 6. Captains which the King hath appointed vnto euery Legion, should haue 4. Corporals or Centeniers, all of ordinary Wikes, and 3. other Corporals,

rals, whose mē should haue þ one halfe Pikes, & the other halfe
 Halbarbs, to wēt, 2. Squadrons of the one, & 2. Squadrons of
 the other: euery one of which 6. Corporals should haue vnder
 him 4. Chiefs of Squadrons, & euery Chief of Squadron 2. Dece-
 niers, and euery Decenier should haue charge of 11. mē, by this
 meanes euery Squadron should haue 25. men, and the sixe Cen-
 tentiers should haue euerie one 100. souldiers vnder him: which
 Centeniers should be for the bodie of the battel. And as for the
 flankes euerie Captaine should finde a Centenier which Cen-
 tenier hath fower Chiefs of Squadrons vnder him, and vnder e-
 uery Chiefe of Squadron are two Deceniers, and vnder euerie
 Decenier 10. men. Two of which said Squadrons should be
 Pikes, and the other two Harquebusiers, the one of the three
 Centeniers, which rest to make by the ten, which are vnder e-
 uerie one of the abouesaid Captaines should haue all Pikemen,
 which should be 93. in number, the persone of the Centenier
 comprehended, and the two other Centeniers of equall number,
 should haue all Harquebusiers, & all those three Centeniers and
 their men shalbe called the foxlorne hope, and shal serue for that
 purpose: so may euerie band of a thousand men bee distribu-
 ted, and yet there would be left 28. places, the which should bee
 for the Captaine and his two Lieutenants, the two Ensigne
 bearers, fower Sergeants of the bande, two Harbingers, two
 Drummes, and two Fifes. And for that the sixe Cente-
 niers that were reserved to make the body of the battaile are not
 comprehended within the number of their people, they shalbe
 accompted with this number to fill vp the the 28. places: and yet
 there will remaine fure places, which may serue the Colonel,
 for the officers, and garde that bee ought to haue: and by that
 meanes there should be in euerie bande 504. ordinarie Pike-
 men, 102. Halberdiers: and to arme the flankes 46. ordinarie
 Pikes, and as many Harquebusiers, besides the person of the
 Centenier. And for the foxlorne hope there would be 93. extra-
 ordinarie Pikes, and 186. Harquebusiers: which make in all
 978. the 22. places þ remaine are for the Chiefs, Members, of-
 ficers, and for the Colonell his gard as I haue said before. By
 that accompte there would be in a Legion, 3024. ordinarie
 Pikes:

Pikes: 612. Halbards. For the flanks there would be 282. Pikes, and 282. Harquebusiers, and for the forlorne hope there would be 358. Pikes, and 1116. Harquebusiers. The ouer plus is for the places of Chiefs, Members, Officers and others as is aforesaid. Touching the manner that I would obserue to range one of these Legions in battaile, shalbe shewed after the speaking of certaine small perticular things, and after that I haue ranged one of these Legions in battell, which I will order after the auncient manner, which being deuised as I haue shewed before, shoulde consist of 3600. ordinarie Pikes, heerein comprehended the 240. Pikes which shoulde arme the flanks of the Halbards, and 600. Halbards, all which serue for the body of the Bataillon. Now for the flanks there should be 420. Pikemen, and 420 Harquebusiers: and besides these ten Corporalls to gouerne them. As for the forlorne hope, there shoulde bee 680. Harquebusiers and 170. Pikemen, all which doe amount vnto 5900. men, the rest are Chiefs, Members, and Officers, of the whole Legion, who are not comprehended in this number. And if so bee the saide number of Harquebusiers should bee thought to bee too little, they may be augmented and certaine bands made a parte, besides the Legion, which Harquebusiers may be named properly aduentures, or extraordinaries, forasmuch as they should be leued and entertained, during the warres, and no longer. That which is here spoken may suffice, touching the diuision, but we must come lower to speake of the exercises that euery souldier, and bande ought to doe perticularly, without which exercise, there may bee no seruice done (by these people thus chosen, armed, weaponed, and distributed into bands) in any good action; for they haue neede of more then all this.

How

of Militarie Discipline.

53

How these new Souldiers ought to bee exercised in diuers exercises, and the bands perticularly exercised, before that the Legion should be assembled.

The 6. Chap.



As much as the exercises wherein these new souldiers should be practised are of diuers sorts, & y^e to speake of the at length, would be too long a worke, I will speake briefly of the most necessarist, which are these: as how to harden their bodies vnto labours, to knowe how to vse their armes, to keepe their order in passage through the countrie, & at that time when they must fight, and how to lodg one of these Legions, or many togeather in a Campe, which in my iudgement are the chiefest poyntes that an armie ought to know. And therefore it is necessary that the Souldiers should be accustomed therein, as often as they might possible, especially vppon Sundays and holidays, wherein the Corporalls or Centeniers, Chiefes of Squadrons, and Deceniers, must be diligent, & must assemble themselves with their people as often as they may. Also they should be leuied so neare togeather, and those that are companions, that the Corporalls might assemble them togeather in short time without great trouble or charge, to make them to exercise to runne, to become swift to assault, to make them to bee actiue, as to throw the stone, dart, or barre of yron, and to wrestle, to make them strong, without which qualities, a Souldier can be worth nothing; because that swiftnesse doth make them ready, and able to endure trauell, to win a passage before an enemy, howe hard soeuer it bee to be gotten: it maketh them diligent to surpise an enemy, when he doubteth it least: and if an enemy doe flie, they wilbe the better able to ouertake him, if they bee actiue and nymble, they will the better bestowe their blowes, and leape the lighter to passe a ditch, and mount the readyer at a breach, or vpon a ladder: their strength will make the to beare the burthen of their armes the better, to strike and force an enemy the more violenter, and to withstand and resist his

assaultes the moze firmer. They must also be accustomed to carrie heauie burthens, to the intent that if any voyage should bee taken in hand, for the execution whereof, they should be forced to iourney many dayes without victuales, they might carrie a good quantitie at their barkes, for that Victuallers may not alwayes be at their taples: moreouer, if it should be at any time requisit for the to carpy wood, pearth, or other thing to rampaire with all, it would be doubted that they could not doe it when it shoulde bee needefull, for lack of vse. Furthermoze, who so would not haue his people to bee hindzed by any riuer, not hauing with them anie bydge or matter whereof to make one, should cause them to practise to swimme, for this exercise is comprised amongst the most necessariest. As for the other exercises, as to knowe how to handle the weapons which they doe carrie: euerie Decenier, Chiefe of Squadron, and Corporall, ought to be diligent to practise their men with sword play: and those that haue charge of Pikemen, shoulde practise them with the picke, and those that haue the Halbardieres, and Harquebusieres in charge, must shew their Souldiers howe to helpe themselves with their armes, and to carrie them well in the exercising of them. These practises must bee exercised, the souldiers being armed, to the intent that through this custome, they might esteeme the waight of their harnes to be no heauier then the waight of their dublets: nor should feele it moze troublesome vnto them, how long voyage soeuer they doe make, or how long soeuer they should be armed. They must obserue these things if they wilbe accompted good Souldiers, yet this is not ynough to make them to deserue to bee called good Souldiers, albeit that they were as fit to labour, swift, actiue, and as wel practised as you could imagine: for it is necessarie that they shoulde learne how to raunge themselves in single order, and to vnderstand the voyces of the Captayne and Sergeants of the bands, to obey readely: also to know the signification of the sounding of the Trumpet, and stroke of the Drumme, and to vse these exercises willingly and often. For (except this discipline be diligently obserued & vsed almost euery day) these new men could doe no seruice ought worth, how hardie and couragious soeuer they

they were : because þ hardines without good order is much weaker then cowardlines well ordered, for that order doth chace away feare from mens hearts, & disorder doth plant it there, which very hardly will come vpon these men, when they are instructed & ordered as they ought to be, to wit, the souldiers of euery company all together at the end of euery month: and the Squadrons by turnes euery Sunday one: & the Decens by turnes euery holiday one. And the bands shall assemble euery three months with their people & officers each band a part : and the Legion twice a yeare. The Corporals shall assemble their Squadrons euery three moneths as is aforesayd, & shal bring their people vnto the place of meeting which the captaine shall appoint, where he himselfe shall be attendant to receiue his souldiours: to instruct them in þ other points which they ought to know, to the intēt þ afterwards they do not find þ to be strange to thē which they ought to do in generall. For in the exercise of the warres, the greatest studie of all is, for the Souldiours to know what they ought to do in their particular bands, and what a bande ought to do being assembled with others in a Campe, for they that knowe the first, will easilie obserue the second : but not knowing the first, it is impossible that they shoulde attaine vnto the second. Euery bande ought then to learne well by it selfe, how to keepe order in all kinds of moouings: as to marche slowly or hastilye, and mozeouer to learne all the sounds, signes & cries, by which they are commaunded in a battell, and that euery man should know their meaning, as those that are in the Gallies do vnderstand the blowing of the whistell : wherein these Souldiours ought to be ready and willing to obeye incontinent, at the first stroke of the Drum, whether it be to marche forward, or to stay, or to turne backe againe, or to turne their faces and armes towards any part. And for this cause, the Colonell ought to giue order, that all his Drums should strike one stroke, and vse one manner of sounding in the field, whether it be to sounde an alarme, or to make a Crye to put themselves in battell : for to marche forward or backward, for to turne toward any part, and for a retreat, and in some, to signifie all those other points with other Drums, which by the sound of one Drum alone, cannot

so well be made knowne, as by manye : who make themselves to be heard in the greatest tumult and pyles that may be. The Souldiers likewise ought to be so attentife to listen vnto that which they are commaunded, that they should neuer faile. The Drums ought also to bee readye to sounde according vnto the sound of the Colonel his Trumpet, by whome they must gouerne themselves in all that they do. The Colonel his Trumpeter ought to be expert in all his soundings, & to handle them so clearly, that one thing be not mistaken for an other: but to expresse the Collonel his commaundement, as he ought to do, and to be alwayes attendant vpon him, and not to be from his hand. And to tell you the reasons that make me to ordaine a Trumpet amongst footmen, is, that it might bee better vnderstoode in a great noyse, then the Drums, or that when as the Drums should alter their stroke, they might gouerne themselves by the sound of the Trumpet: whose sounde is much louder then the Drums, which the Switzers knowing, who are the inuenters of the Drums, do vse Trumpets before their Bataillons, whereby their Chefes do signifie what the Bataillon ought to doe: and it is not long since that they vsed great Hornes. All these small things ought to be shewed vnto euery band a part, before that the Legion should be assembled together, to the intent that they might know to keepe their order and ranks, that no force whatsoever might disorder them: and that the sound of the Trumpet might be so familiar vnto them, that they should not erre, nor take one thing for another: but afterwards might easilie learne all that the Bataillon ought to doe, when they are assembled together. And forasmuch as we put an armie into battell, eyther for that we see our enemies, or for that we doubt them, not seeing them: euery bande ought to be practised and instructed in such sort, that it might marche vpon the waye surely, and fyght if need require, and euery Souldier to be taught what he ought to do, if they should be assaulted vpon a sudden. And when you do instruct them in the manner that they ought to keepe, to resist their enemies vpon a day of Battell, it shalbe necessary to shew them how a battell dooth begin, and after what maner one Bataillon dooth encounter another of the enemies: and vnto what place

place they must retire being repulſed, and who they are that ſhould put themſelves in their places; vnto what ſignes, ſounds and cryes they ought to obey: and what they ſhould doe when they heare thoſe ſoundes and cryes, and ſee thoſe ſignes: and to accuſtome them ſo well with thoſe ſained battailes and assaults, that afterwards they ſhould not onely dare to alpe an enemy, but deſire the battaile: which boldneſſe will rather proceede of the good order, and raunging that they doe finde to be in themſelves, then of their owne proper hardines: and ſpecially becauſe their battailes ſhalbe ranged that the one may ſuccour the other eaſilie, which is a thing of no ſmall importance to imboulden Souldiours. For that if I be of the firſt battell that fighteth, and know vnto what place to retire when I am repulſed, and who it is that ſhould come in my place, I ſhall alwaies fight with a better courage, ſceing my ſuccour neare, then whē I ſee them not, or knowe not of them. Likewise, if I be of the ſecond battell (although the firſt be repulſed, and that I ſee them to giue backe) that ſhall nothing diſmaye me: becauſe I know befoze what that geuing backe doth ſignifie, but ſhall be moze deſirous that it might be ſo, to the intent to be of that number that ſhould winne the victorie, and that the firſt ſhould not haue all the honour alone. Theſe exerciſes heere ſpoken of, are neceſſarye both for our new men, and for thoſe that are practiſed alſo: for we finde, that although the Romanes knew all that they ought to doe in a perticular bande, and alſo in an armie, and learned all thoſe pointes in their youthe: notwithstanding they were practiſed aſwell in time of peace, as when their enemies were at hand. Iosephus ſaythe in his Hiſtorie, that the continuall exerciſe of the Romanes armie, was cauſe that the multitude of thoſe that did follow the Campe, did ſerue vpon a day of battell aſwell as the men of war: for that they did know aſwell as the others to keepe their rankes, and to fight well. But for an hoalt of new mē, whether it be you leaue them to haue preſent ſeruiſe of them, or to haue ſeruiſe of them heereafter, it would be worſe nothing without theſe exerciſes: wherefoze ſithe that order is ſo neceſſary a thing, it muſt be ſhewed vnto them with double induſtrie and diligence, that vnderſtand it

not, and maintained in them that doe know it, as we finde that many excellent Captaines haue taken paines to teach & maintaine this discipline. But this matter hath brought me somewhat out of the way, for y^e I doe speake of the practising of the whole armie, before I haue declared how to exercise the bands particularly, but it is the affection that I beare vnto this matter that is the cause; wherefore I will retorne vnto my first purpose.

How to raung one band in battaile, and the order that it ought to keepe in trauailing through the countrie: and the manner how to lodge it in a campe, in his quarter a part, and a Legion together,

The 7. Chapter.



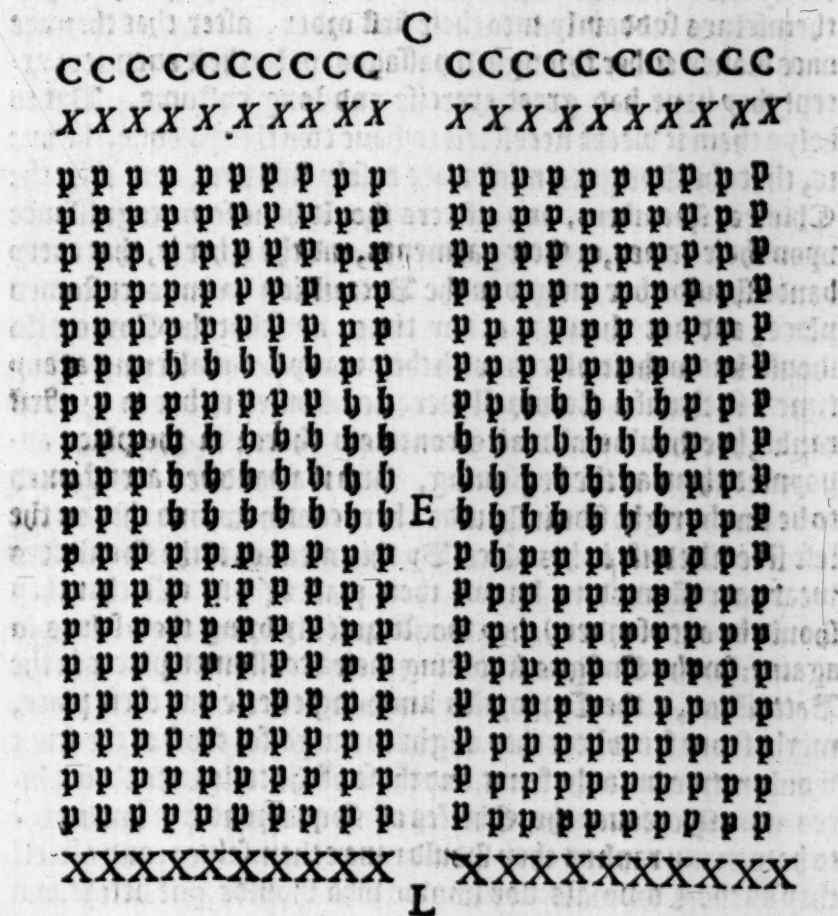
The first thing of importance, in the exercising of these bands, is to teache them to keepe their ranks well: wherefore they must be first raunged in single order: that is thre and thre together, or fiue and fiue, or eyght and eyght: as it will best fall out, with-out respect of the number, wheather it bee euen or od: for that dooth nothing in this matter: but is an obseruation with-out any grounde, and Vegetius him selfe can giue no good reason for it, but custome. I haue sayd before that euerp one of the ten bands that shalbe appointed for the bodie of the Battailion, of euerp one of the newe Legions, which I doe ordaine (for I leaue a side the Legions heretofore leuied) shall haue 510. men, not coumpting the Captains: which 510. ought to be brought into 102. ranks, that is fiue men in euerp ranke, and afterward their ranks augmented either marching slowly or in hast: as of two ranks of fiue, to make one of ten, and of two of 10, to make one of 20, and suddainly to reduce them out of this ranke into their first single order, and to aduertise them that the second should alwaies follow the first, not leeing them, and the third the second: and the others likewise following vntil the last. This done you may

may order euerie one of these bands, in that order that they must be ranged in, when al the Legion is in one Battailion together. And for to doe this, the Pikes for the flankes shalbe taken out of their order & shalbe put one the one side: and two Corporalls of ordinarie Pikes shall make the head, the one Corporall and his people first: and the other Corporall, and his people afterward: and the Corporall of the Halbardiers shall followe them, with the Ensigne in the midst of the Halberds. The other two Corporalls of ordinarie Pikes shall make the taile, each one with his men: and they shalbe ranked fise and fise, and euerie Corporall must be shewed, what place he must keepe at al times: and the Corporalls must afterwards shew the Chieffes of Squadrons, and the cheiffes of Squadrons, their Deceners. The Captaine must be at the head of the band, and the Lieutenant at the taile. The Sergeant hath no place of abiding, except the Captaine doe giue him one: but must trot vp and downe from place to place, to make the ranks to keepe good order, and to commaund that the Captaine willet to be done. The Clarke of the band shalbe there also out of ranke to take view of those that wante, that they might be punished afterward, according vnto the lawes that the Colonell shall make for that purpose. The second ranke shall enter with in the first: the fourth within the third: the sixt within the fiste, and the other afterward following, so that the 85. ranks, which the fise Corporalls with their Chieffes of Squadrons comprised, doe come vnto 42. rankes, in euery one of which rankes are 10. men besides their Corporalls, which are ranged before their people. These 42. rankes shalbe againe redoubled in making the on ranke to enter within the other as is a foresaid: & then wheras they were before but 10. mē, they shal now be 20. with euery one of which rankes, their Chief of Squadrons shall range themselves in the midst, so that he shall haue ten men vpon his right side, and ten vpon his left, which is a iust Squadron. Euerie Corporall shall place himselfe before his fower Squadrons: so that the Souldiers of this one band, shall make 20. rankes: euerie one of which rankes shall haue 21. men. The first 8. rankes, and the last shalbe all Pikemen: and the fower in the midst shalbe all Halbardiers.

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Or otherwise all the souldiers of one Squadron might followe
 one another: and to make so many Squadrons as you intend
 to make ranks: For my meaning is that euerie Squadron
 shoulde make but one ranke. So that if they be ranked, five
 and five, and that you would range the 20. Squadrons in bat-
 talle, the Squadrons must be brought vp the one by the side of
 the other, vntill that they be all ranked the one nether before nor
 behinde the other. The first of euerie ranke shalbe the Chieffes
 of the Squadron, and the second one of the two Diceneres; and
 after him all his Dicenere. The other Dicenere shalbe in the
 last ranke, and he shall serue for the guide behinde. His Souldi-
 ers shalbe ioyned vnto his companions in such order that the
 last of the one, and the last of the other, shall make the two mid-
 dle ranks. And as I did before place Halbardes in the midst
 so I pretend heere also to haue as many, and these shalbe the last
 of euerie Dicenere that shall cary Halbardes, and so there shalbe
 no

no expresse Squadrons of Halbarbs. By this reckouing there
shalbe in this little Bataillon 21. rankes of 20. men in fronte:
uerie one of the Corporalls shall place himself before his Soul-
diers.



And whether the first maner be better then this or no, all that is
it is euident that the Souldiers should be practised in such sort
that they might know how to range themselves in battaile: and
must be made to march hastily forward and backward, and to
passe through troublesome passages not loosing or breaking
their

their order: and if they can doe this they deserue to bee called practised Souldiers, although that they neuer sawe enemies and on the contrary parte, those that cannot keepe these orders, although they had bin in a thousand warres, ought to bee called but new souldiers. It is also a hard matter, for men to put themselves suddainly into their first order, after that they are once broken either through ill passages, or by their enemies: except they haue had great exercise and long custome. But to helpe them it weare necessarie to haue two things done, the one is, that the Ensignes might bee easely knowne, and that the Chieffes, Members, and officers should haue some cognissance vpon their armes, or their garments, and the other is, that euery bande shoulde bee ranged in the Battailion in one accustomed place, and not chaunge at any time: and that the Corporalls should know their places with their troupes, not altering at any time: so that if a Corporall were accustomed to bee in the first ranke, hee shoulde allwaies continew there: in the place appointed them at the beginning. And if a band bee accustomed to be on the right side it shoulde there continew, and that on the left side likewise in his place. By this meanes if the Souldiers weare accustomed to knowe their places (put case that they should be out of order) they would quickly bring themselves in againe: for the Ensignes knowing their accustomed places in the Battailion, & the Corporalls knowing euerie one their place, might soone see where they ought to range: for those of the frunt would retire vnto the frunt, and those of the taile vnto their places also. Moreover the Chieffes of Squadrons doe knowe in to how many rankes they should range themselves, and aswell they as the Corporals doe knowe who shoulde goe before, and who should followe. Wherefore the Souldiers hauing nothing to doe but to follow their Chieffes, would range themselves readily euery one in his place, without Sergeant or any other to place them: for that the custome would make them perfect. These thinges heare spoken of doe teache themselves, so that there be diligence vsed and custome: and after that they are once well learned they will be hardly forgotten. It shalbe also necessarie to make them to turne all at once: for sometime the head must

must be made the taylor, or one of the flanks, according vnto the
enemie his force, and the place he will assault them on, and for
to answer on that side that shall be necessarie, there needes no
more but to turne their faces, and that part that they turne to-
ward, shall be called the front. But who so would that a whole
Bataillon should turne all together, as if it were a massie body,
must haue therein great practise and discretion: for as if they
should turne toward the left hand, those of the left corner should
stand still, and those next them must go but slowly, that those in
the right corner should not be constrained to run, or els all would
come to a confusion: but this may better be shewed by effect,
then by writing. As for y two bands y should make the forlorne
hope, their Pikemen may be ranged in battell, to learne them to
keepe order: for I would vse them, and those of the flanks in
particular factions, to wit in skirmishes, and other extraordi-
nary seruice, where it should not be needfull to send any great
number of people, but principally I will haue those of the flanks
to defend and couer the Bataillon: and as for the forlorne hope,
I appoint them both Pikes and Harquebusiers to begin the
Battell, and to fight amongst the Horsemen, without keeping
any order. And to that intent I haue armed them lightelpe, for
their office shall be to fight not standing firme, but running from
one place to another, be it y they haue the enemie in chase, or are
chased themselves, wherein the Pikes may doe great seruice:
for they may reskue the Harquebusiers, and may shew their fa-
ces vnto those that would force them, whether they were on
Horsebacke or a foote, or to follow those that should flye, and to
force those that shrink. So that as well the one as the other,
whether they be of the body of the Bataillon, or of the flanks,
or of the forlorne hope, haue need to be well exercised, to the in-
tent that they might knowe how to keepe their ranks, and to
put themselves readilpe againe into their places if they were
broken, by meanes of ill and straight passage, or that the enemy
should put them into any disorder: and if they can doe this in
their particular bands, euery band wil afterwards easily learne
what place it ought to keepe in the Bataillon, and also what
they ought to do in a Campe. As for the bands of these legions
that

that are already made in France, which are of a 1000 men, to bring them into order: first make their single order of 6 and 6, and afterwards reduce the six Corporals men, which are for the bodie of the Bataillon into 96 rankes, not comprehending the Corporals, nor the Chiefes of Squadrons; then double them, and make them of 12 in a ranke, causing the one ranke to enter within the other as is abovesaid, so that the 96 rankes shall come vnto 48. Moreover, they must be doubled againe, and from 12 in a ranke they will amount vnto 24, and the Cheife of the Squadron shall ioyne with them, so that euery ranke will be 25 men. The Corporals shall put themselves before their Squadrons, euery man before his owne, two Corporals of Pikemen shall make the forepart of this small Bataillon: and two Corporals of Halbardiers shall make the middelt, and hee that is foremost of them, shall make one ranke of Halbardiers, and then two ranks of Pikes, and after them one ranke of Halbardiers. The other corporall that is behind him shall also make one ranke of Halbardiers: then 2. rankes of Pikes, & after them one ranke of Halbardiers: by which accoumpt there shall be 2. rankes of Halbardiers together in the middelt, & the Ensigne in the midst of them. The other two Corporals shall make the taile of this Bataillon, and each of their troopes shall make foure rankes. Touching the other foure Corporals, that remaine, one must be appointed for the flanke, and the other three for the forelorne hope. And this is the forme that I would keepe in ranging one of the bands of these Legions by it selfe, wherein the Souldiers must be often practised.

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And if the King would permit that these orders, should be dili-
 gently executed, and put in practise, he should haue many good
 Souldiers in his kingdome in short time, but the disorder that
 is amongst our men of warre at this present, is cause that these
 things are dispraised; and therfore our armies can not be good:
 albeit that the Chiefes were naturally vertuous, for that they be-
 ing ill followed and obeyed, can neither shewe their knowledge
 nor their vertue. It may bee also that the number of Chiefes
 which I doe ordaine in a Legion, shoulde seeme superfluous, or
 might make a confusion amongst themselves: because of the
 number which I doe institute, which thing would be to be doub-
 ted, except they should referre themselves wholly vnto one
 Cheife:

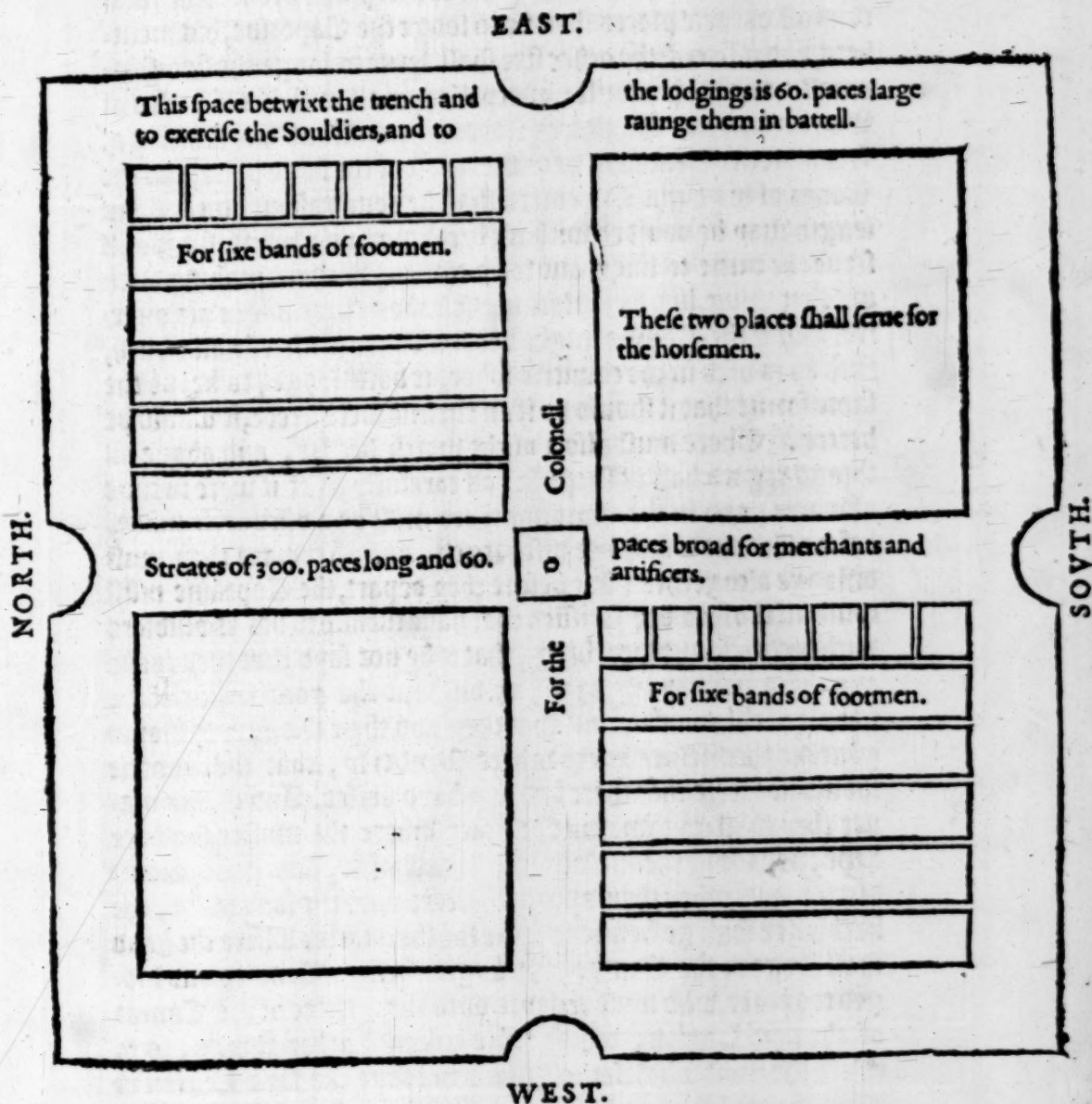
Chiefe : but hauing one principall Cheife aboue them all, the great number of officers wil cause good order: for if there should not be a great number of Cheifes, it would be impossible to gouerne so great a multitude of people: for as a wall that ouerhangeth, doth require rather to be vpholden with many hoozes, although they bee not very strong, then with a few of greater strength: for that one alone, how strong soeuer it bee cannot assure the wall but onely where it standeth; so likewise must it be in a Legion, for it is necessarie that among euery ten men there should be one of more courage or at least of greater authoritie then the rest, to keepe the other Souldiers firme and in order to fight, though their good courage, examples, words, and authoritie: specially the Deceniers are necessarie, if they did but serue to keepe the rankes right and firme, and in so doing, it were impossible that the Souldiers shoulde disorder themselves, and if so be that they shoulde bee so far put out of order, that they could not immediatly finde their places, by meanes of these Chieifes, who shoulde haue regard therevnto being by them, the Chieifes of the Squadrons are to commaunde the Deceniers; and the Corporalls are aboue them: who looke into all things that doeth concerne the duety of the Souldiers and theirs. But at this day wee serue our selues with all these officers, to no other effect but to giue them more wages then vnto other men: for that they haue credit to bring certaine companions vnto the bands, which is cause of many Leagues amongst Souldiers. We vse likewise Ensignes at this present, more to make a great shew, then for any militarie vse: our ancestors did vse them for guides, and to knowe how to bring themselves into order by them: for euerie man after the Ensigne was placed, knew his place by it, and placed himselfe incontinent, they knew also that if it mooued or stayed they ought to mooue or to stay. Wherefore it is necessarie, that in an host there should bee many bodies, that is to say bands, and that euerie body should haue an Ensigne to conduct those that are of the same body: and so the host shall haue many soules, and by consequent many liues. The Souldiers ought then to gouerne themselves by their Ensignes, and the Ensignes by the sound of the Drume, which being well ordered as it ought to

to be, both commaund a whole Legion, which Legion marching in such sort, that the steppes of the Souldiers do agree with the stroke of the Drumme, shall easily keepe their order. And for this purpose had the auncient Souldiers Flutes & Whiffles perfectly agreeing with the sound of their Drummes: for as he that daunceth according vnto the steppes of his musicke, doth not erre; so likewise a Battell in marching according to the sound of the Drumme, can neuer put it selfe in disorder. And therefore when they would chaunge their gate, or would encourage, and appeale their Souldiers, they chaunged their sound; and as the sounds were variable, so likewise their names were differing: for they had the Orique stroke, and the Phrigian stroke; the one animated the Souldiers, and the other appeased them. They had besides many other; as the Eolian, Iasian, Lydian, and others: all which serued to appease and to inflame the hearts of men. We haue in our time Drummes for footmen, and Trumpets for horsemen: either of them hath strokes and sounds to reuiue Souldiers when neede requireth, and are inuented to the intent that they might commaund, and bee understood a farre of. But I beleue that Drummes were inuented for a measure for Souldiers to march by, for all the times of their strokes are true stoppes and measures, for to hasten and slacke the goings of men of warre. Now, when as the Bands are instructed in the exercises which they ought to knowe particularly, and therein haue many times been exercised, it is time to put them into the feeld, in some place where the Legion might meete most commodiously. In which place all the Captaines shall meet at the day appoynted, euery man bringing his band with him, and as little carriage as possible he may, & the Captaines themselves must lessen their estate, if they were accustomed to carrie any taylor. Moreover, they must haue a regard that the Corporalls, Chiefes of Squadrons, and Deceniers, do not mount on horsebacke, nor likewise the simple Souldiers. The Captaine & his members must forbear riding as much as may bee, I do not meane that if he had any sicke men that they should not ride; but all others: for sith they haue taken the estate of footmen vpon them, it is necessarie that they should execute it

wholly. And as for the carrying of their baggage, one horse shall suffice for a Squadron, which shall carrie two Mattresses of course canuas, two coverings, & one tent for the one Deciene, and as much for the other, with some linnen, pots, and vessell, & tooles to make Trenches and Bulwarkes, and also a ladder of good length made of peeces. Euery Deciene may haue a seruant; the Chiefe of Squadron one, and the Corporall two. The Corporall and his foure Chiefs of Squadron shall haue a Tent and a horse to carrie it. The Captaine shall bring with him as fewe horses and seruants as possible he may. The Lieutenant and Ensigne bearer may haue either of them two, euery officer one; & the Drummers shall haue none: but they must be lodged nere vnto the Captaine, and his members. The Colonell and the Officers of the Legion, shall keepe as fewe as they may: for of a great baggage proceedeth oftentimes many disorders, and the ruine of an armie: and aswell the horses as the seruants should bee chosen to bee such, as might serue more then one turne at a neede: and aboue all things there must be none suffered to carrie Trunckes, Coffers, Waggones, nor Whores. And in this doing, all the bands of the Legion will be the better giuen to do all honest exercises, then if they should bee troubled with all these lets. Moreover, the whole Legion will passe foure daies for a need, with the victualls that the whores, pages, and horse, that one of the bands that are now ordayned do carrie with them, do consume in one day. Having so provided for the baggage, the Captaines shall put themselves into the feild euery one a part with his companie, and shall go towards the place where the generall muster is appoynted to bee kept, making small iournies, and in the best order that they can, finding their Souldiers to bee good and honest men. And to bee so thought of, they shall march thzough the countrie in good order sounding their Drum, and not in trope as vanquished men, and shall lodge themselves without the townes,

The

The forme of a Campe for to lodge a Legion, distributed into 12. bands, being 660. paces square.



The ground that this one band will occupie to lodge in a Campe, is in length two hundred and fourtie paces, and thirtie and five in breadth: which length must be deuided into seauen parts, every one of which parts shall be thirtie paces, & betwixt euery two, there shall be a way left of five paces broade: the middealmost of these places shall be to lodge the Captaine, his members, and officers: the other sixe shall serue to lodge the sixe Corporalls, and their people: euery Corporall with his Chieffes of Squadrons and Souldiers: the Corporall and his Chieffes of Squadrons Tent shall be in the midst of the same place, and the Tents of his eight Deceniers shall be round about him. This length may be deuided without breaking any ground: for it will serue the turne to line it out with cordes, without making ditch or other thing, but only placing the bands euery one in his quarter. But if the Campe might bee inuironed with a small trench, such as is vsed in the countrie where it doth lodge, to keepe the same forme that it should do if an enemy were neere, it would be better. There must also a night watch bee set, and aboue all things regard had of surprize, as carefully as if it were in time of warre; and in the morning there must be a discouerie made, before that the watch bee discharged, and afterward they must dislodge altogether: but before they depart, the Captaine must cause all those to bee satisfied that haue furnished his Souldiers with victuall, or other thing; that it be not sayd that they tooke any thing not paying for it, or without the good willes of the people of the countrie: but that they and their Souldiers should gouerne themselves euery where so orderly, that the countrie should not feele that there had any band passed. And in this manner they shall go towards the place where the muster shall bee kept, behauing themselves like honest men, and good Souldiers: and when they approach neere vnto the sayd place, the harbinger shall go before to seeke for the quarter where the band shall lodge in the Campe, the Legion being assembled and lodged together, who must repayre vnto the maister of the Campe of the sayd Legion, whose office amongst other things, is to chosse the most wholesomest place to lodge the sayd Legion in Campe that he can finde. And hauing found some commodious place,

place, he must lay out the quarters, and appoynt in what order the Campe should be fortified: and therefore it shall bee necessarie that the maister of the Campe should go before for to deuide and lay out all the quarters before the bandes should ariue, where it is ment that they should lodge. The Colonell shall be attendant in the sayd place, to see the bands come in order, and the Prouost ought to bee abroade to vnderstand of the Souldiers misdemeanour, or of any other vnder their colour, to the intent to punish those that do commit any offence. Furthermore, certaine men must bee appoynted to followe after the bands foote by foote, who should looke into their behauiour towards the countrie, and shall informe the Colonell of all that passech. And if there be any complaint, the Colonell shall lay it vpon the Captaine his necke of the band that hath committed the offence, if so bee that the fault was committed through his negligence, or that he vsed no industrie to punish the offenders: then he should bee houlden to make satisfaction of his owne purse, if it were any thing that might bee recompenced with monie; and if it were any fault that deserued bodily punishment, the sayd Captaine should bee driuen to seeke out the offender, and to deliuer him into the Prouosts hands: and if he were fled, the pursuite after him should be made at the Captaines charge: for by the meanes of this rigour, the Captaines would looke very nere vnto their people, and would bee more diligent to make them to liue honestly, or to punish them more greuously then they are.

But wee must lodge the bands as they ariue, and speake of the forme of the Campe that shall lodge the whole Legion. Then for to lodge the twelue bands, putting them in one Campe together, wee must choose a square place of sixe hundred and sixtie paces in length, and asmuch in breadth: in the middelt of which great square shall bee a lesser square made, which shall bee euery way fourtie paces; within which square must the Colonell bee placed, for he must keepe the Campe aswell as his Souldiers: and I would inuiron this sayd square with a small trench, within which trench I would lodge the maister of the Campe, the Prouost, the other officers of the Legion, and the

Colonell his guard. And those that followe the Colonell for their pleasures, hauing no charge, I would lodge them without round about the sayd trench. And for to order the rest well, I would appoynt that the front of the Campe should bee toward the East, and the backe towards the West, and the flankes towards the other two Regions. For to deuide the quarters, stretch a line from the Colonell his lodging East-ward, which must be three hundred and ten paces long, & afterwards stretch two other lines of either side of it one, which must be of the same length that the first was, each of them thirtie paces distant from it, to the intent that the breadth of this space may be fourtie paces. At the ende of these lines I would make a barre or gate, which I would name the East-gate: the distance betwixt these two outtermost lines will make a sayre streate, to go from the Colonell his quarter out of the Campe, which streate will bee threescore paces broad, as is aforesayd. On the other side of the Colonell his quarter West-ward, must three other lines bee stretched of like length and distance, as the three first aforesayd: so likewise vpon the South and North sides shall be two other streates made of like length and breadth. I make all these streates so broad, to the intent to lodge in the all sorts of buyers and sellers, artificers, and victualers that do followe the Legion. Furthermoze, I do make foure square places, betwixt these foure streates, euery one of which places shall containe two hundred and fourtie paces in length, and as much in breadth. The Campe shall be inclosed with a trench, betwixt which trench and the quarters for the lodgings shall be a space left of threescore paces broad round about, which shall not be occupied with any lodging, but shall be emptie to serue to set the watch, and to raunge the Legion in battell, if neede were. As for the foure places abouesayd, those two that are betwixt the East and North streates, and betwixt the South and West streates, shall serue to lodge the twelue Bands: to wiet, sixe in one quarter, and sixe in another. Each of these two quarters shall bee deuided into sixe parts, euery one of which parts shall bee two hundred and fourtie paces in length, and five and thirtie paces in breadth, and euery one of these parts shall bee furthermoze deuided into

seauen

seauen parts, as I haue sayd befoze in the lodging of a Band alone. Betwixt the quarters of euery two Bands there shall be a way left of sixe paces large, which shall serue for to come and go vnto the perticular quarters; the other two parts which remaine vndeuided, shall by and by bee set a worke: but for the twelue Bands this is sufficient. So that after this, or some better manner, may euery Legion be lodged as often as it shall be assembled to make a generall muster.

How certaine number of horsemen should be ioyned vnto euery Legion.

The 8. Chapter.



As much as the Romanes in all their leuies of footmen, haue alwaies incorporated certaine number of horsemen with them, and that their perfect Legions consisted of these two manner of Souldiers; I thinke it also conuenient to ioine some horsemen vnto the leuie of these newe Legionaries, which horsemen should bee incorporated with the Legions, and should bee with them at the generall musters, to exercise themselves together, and to learne the science of the warres one with another: for except that they should ioynly practise themselves, it would not be possible that any one of these two sorts of people should do good seruice: forasmuch as they both do make but one whole bodie, which ought to bee so compounded, that either of them should do seruice in their due time, and consequently euery part of them. And if so be that this were done, you shal find that one intier Legion shall do more seruice then three other Legions accompanied with a multitude of horsemen, whose footmen and horsemen do not vnderstand one another. Therefore it would not bee amisse that the King should ordaine, that certaine of his ordinarie companies of horsemen should bee ioyned with these Legions, and be with them at the general muster: and that there should bee two Bands incorporated with euery Legion, each of which Bands should haue 100. men of armes, one hundred light Horsemen, fiftie Hargoletiers or Scoutes,

and fiftie Harquebuziers. And if they were companies that the king did newly take by, the most modest and most expert men should bee chosen for men of armes: and afterwards the other must bee preferred from degree to degree, accompting the light Horsemen before the Hargoletiers, and the Hargoletiers before the Harquebuziers; so that the Harquebuziers are the worst of these foure sortes of Horsemen. There must also a regard bee had vnto the errour that is committed at this day among our ordinarie bands: which is, that young men are made men of armes, which are but newly come from being pages, or from schoule. But for to haue these companies in better order then they now are, it should bee necessarie to make an order, by which all young men aboue seauentene yeare olde that would bee of the bandes of the Horsemen (not excepting one) vnlesse he were a Prince, should bee constrayned first to bee Harquebuziers two or thre yeares, and afterwards they should be Hargoletiers as long, and after that light Horsemen: amongst which thre sortes they might learne those things that were necessarie for euery good horseman to knowe; and that before their departing from them they might passe the furie and fire of their youth, and become colde and modest to gouerne themselves wisely amongst men of armes, with whome they should bee constrayned to serue the space of thre or foure yeares without discharging, and that time being expired, if they were bound to finde a man of armes by the tenour of their lands, they should then bee exempted from the ordinarie bands, and goe home vnto their owne houses, to bee readie as often as they should be commaunded. This rule ought generally to be kept, with all those that should employ themselves among the ordinarie bands, although they were of greater age: for otherwise the seruice of the Rierban, which the gentlemen of Fraunce, do owe vnto the King, would in short space come to nothing: which at this instant, as may be seene, is brought into very lowe estate. And the reason is, that euery man will bee of the ordinarie bands of men of armes, to be excused from the Rierban; so that the gouernours that were wont to make fve or sixe hundred men of armes of the Rierban, can hardly now bring one hundred together: and those also

also if they should come to the muster, would be so ill furnished, that it is a mockery to see them in so poore estate. But may this seruice be had in moze contempt: when as those which are subiect to this dutie, and which do not excuse themselves by the ordinarie Bands, exempt their owne persons, and send some seruant in their places, whereas heretofore all the principall of Fraunce thought it a great honoz for them to be there in person: notwithstanding at this instant, not only the greater sort, but the lesser would thinke to be dishonored, if they should appeare at the Muster. And therefore those that are bound vnto this seruice, do put themselves into the ordinarie bands, to be free of the Rierban: and as they cannot all be there, so it is also that the greatest part do finde some excuse to exempt themselves: and if so be that their excuse be not receivable, they will then come so euill furnished, and with so ill a will, that it is impossible that they should do the King good seruice, which is an occasion that the Nobilitie is no moze esteemed as it was wont to be: but if so be it were mainteined as it hath been in times past, it is certaine that we should be much moze feared of our enemyes then we now are: mozeouer, the King should not be charged with the mainteining of so many Horsemen as he is, but might discharge moze then the one halfe of his ordinarie Bands, to conuert that money, for the maintenance of certayne ordinarie Bands of footemen. Mozeouer, the King should compell hys Nobilitie to furnish themselves better for the warres then they are: and forbid them rather their pompe, then to suffer a Gentleman of Fraunce to be an ill horseman, ill armed, and ill practised: and to that end should ordaine, that the Rierban should muster in armes twice a yeare at the least: and there should be certaine seueare men appointed to take the view of those Musters, who ought to let none passe, but the persons themselves which are bound to this seruice, except they were Magistrates, or sicke men, for they are excusable, principally the Magistrates. But for the sicke men, although they be exempted for their persons, yet must they shew their furniture, and for default thereof, their lands should be seized vpon immediately, as well as theirs that are in health, and do not appeare,

or as those that do appeare not mounted, or furnished in armes, according to their charge. Moreover, it should be necessary to punish all those that are not practised, so that they might be an example vnto all those that are negligent to mount, arme, & to practice themselves as they ought to do: this doing, the King should restore his Nobilitie, & make an excellent Chivalrie. And to the intent y^e Gentlemen should not excuse themselves through the great dearth that we haue of Horses in Fraunce, the King should cause some good & faire broode of Horses & Mares to be brought frō other Countreys, and afterwards distribute them vnto the Prelats, & Gouvernours, & vnto men of great Benefices, to haue a great brood within the Realme, whereof the said Prelats & their successors should be bound to giue an account yearly, & to cause the said Mares to be ordered & cherished as they ought to be, and their Colts to be managed at their owne proper charges; by this means I would not doubt to see France in short time better furnished with Horses, then any neighbour she hath, besides, their maintenance should cost the King nothing: and it would be an occasion that the said Prelats should do the common wealth of Fraunce some seruice, whereas at this day they do stand it but in little stead (I meane those that are busie with the world, and not with the Church) and whē as the King would purse by againe the money that the Mares and Stallions had cost him, he might do it, giuing the best Horse y^e might be taken out of the Raunges vnto his men of armes ill mounted, rebating it vpon their wages, causing the rest to be sold: and to find buiers, he might ordaine, that no man of what condition soeuer he were, should keep Hogle, Sumpter-horse, or Hackney, if he keepe not likewise a good Horse, or if he kept but one Horse to ride vpon, the same might be fit for y^e warres. Moreover, it might be forbidden that no man should wear silke, except he kept a good Horse. And in mine opinion, the number of those y^e desire to be richly clad, is so great, that I knowe not if there would be horses found inough in 6. realmes for to furnish thē: wherefore there is no doubt to be made, but that there would be buiers inow, how great aboundance soeuer ther were of horses: besides, the Rierban would neede a great many, so that if these things had place, and furthermore that it were permitted

mitted euery man to keepe a hord that would, we should see horses sould so good cheape in Fraunce, that we might haue more reason to thinke the rather to be giuen then sould; which would be an occasion that the men of armes (which dare not abandon nor hazard theselues in places where their Horses may either be slaine or lost, more then they needs must, seeing them to be so ill to be recouered) would put on their ould vertue, & shew theselues to be others then at this day they are esteemed to be, and it would make me to be better cheape then the horses are at this instant. Moreover, if the King would that his horsemen should make lesse accompt of their liues, and haue horses better cheap then if they should buy them, he might furnish them at the first, & as often as they lack horses, so if their horses were slaine in fight, or lost by any inconuenient, & not through their owne default; for in this case they should be bound to put so many others in their places, and to giue an accompt of them at theyr muster: and if so be that they would discharge themselves, or if they should be discharged, they should then be bound to restore the horses which the King had giuen the, if they were alieue, and hauing lost the through their owne negligence, they should be bound to buy others in their places, as good as they were. The like also should be done whē as if Harquebusiers should become Hargoletiers, or the Hargoletiers light horsemen, & light horsemen men of armes, that euery man should leaue the horse that had bin deliuered to him by the King, vnto him that should succede in his place: for I suppose that a man of armes hath neede of a stronger horse then a light horseman, and a light horseman a stronger then a hargoletier, and a hargoletier stronger then a harquebusier. And therfore there ought to be hords of diuers sorts of horses, as Coursers of Naples & of Flanders for men of armes, and Turks, Valacks, Polacks, Cornaks, and horse of Spaine for light horsemen, Barbares, Moores, & small horses of Spayne for Hargoletiers, and the least might be chosen out of all these for the harquebusiers, so that they were light and quick. But this tale hath laited long inough, let vs therfore returne vnto the Rierbans, & let vs say, if in their goings & comings fro their musters, they would begger if commō people, if they were suffered to liue at their own discretions, and to keepe
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the féeld without painment, as they do at this present. In consideration whereof, it should be necessary to ordaine that they charges should be bozne by the Nobilitie, & not by the common people: and that the musters should sometimes be made in the midst of the Prouinces, sometime in one place, and sometime in another, so that y^e Gentlemen who are far from the place where the muster is kept at one time, might be neerer at another, to the intent that no man should be moze charged, noz eased then other. But this is not that y^e I would speake of, yet I thought good to touch it in passing. But to returne vnto that I spake of yong men, that they should be harquebusiers a horsebacke before that they attaine to be Hargoletiers, and be Hargoletiers before that they become light horsemen, and should spend some time in these three estates, before they should attaine to be men of armes. And to speake somewhat of those that do finde this tearme to be too long, and to take away all hope from them that would thinke to come vnto this last estate by fauour or otherwise, except it be that their turnes do come, or that they should be aduanced for some vertuous acte: I am of opinion that none should leape from the one of these estates vnto another, but that he should follow them one after another their full time, or else that he should neuer attaine to any charge, noz beare office among mē of armes, noz likewise haue any other estate, or royall office, so that the Gentlemen should keepe themselues to serue in the Rierban, and of this order would many profits proceede, for first of all yong men would giue themselues moze vnto the exercise of armes then they do: mozeouer, the bands would be filled with better men then they are at this day, and there would be no man in y^e ordinary bands, who were mounted to the estate of a man of armes, but he should be able to gouerne a good charge; and therefore it would be a rich treasure to haue companies of horsemen in Fraunce, whose men of armes were able to conduct themselues and others. Finally, the offices & estates appertaining vnto the warres, as Stewardships, Prouosts, Maiors, Castellins, & other offices of commaundement, which are in the Kings gift, should be much better employed vppon these men, and be better executed by them, then they may be by those

those that neuer saw any thing, or that had neuer done him seruice. But let vs passe further, the hundred men of armes, and the other horsemen distributed as is aforesaid, should be put vnder the charge of a Captaine, who should haue vnder him a Lieutenant, an Ensigne bearer, and a Guidon (as we haue at this instant) the men of armes should follow the Ensigne, and the light horse, hargoletiers, & harquebusiers, should follow the Guidon: these four Chieffes, or members, should be more then 100. men of armes. Moreover, they must haue a Marshall to lodge them, & to deuide their quarters. They must haue also 2. harbingers, & certaine Trompets ouer and aboue this number. And as I haue appointed amongst the footemen certaine perticular Chieffes, so also there must be some appointed amongst the horsemen, but not of so many sorts: for it will suffice that the horsemen should haue ouer euery nine a Chiefe, who shalbe the tenth man, & shall be called the Decurion. Furthermore, there shall be a Chiefe ouer the Hargoletiers, and another ouer the Harquebusiers, who shalbe called by the name of Beneral, although the Italians do vnderstand by this word their Ensigne bearers, for I will help my self with this tearme, to signifie the Chieffes of these small bands, who likewise may be called Conductors, and they shalbe ouer and aboue their number, & vnder the charge of the Captaine, and of his members, and officers as well as the others. Wherefore in a company of legionarioe men of armes, there shalbe 309. horsemen, besides the Trompets; euery one of these horsemen shall be armed according vnto his charge: for the men of armes shall be better armed then the light horsemen: and the light horsemen better then the Hargoletiers or harquebusiers. First of all the men of armes shall be armed with soulleretz, whole gresues, cuisses, cures with tassles, gorget, pouldrons, vambraces, gauntlets, helmet with beuer, gosslets, & great pieces: all which I haue specified perticularly, because of the men of armes at this present, who will be called men of armes, and notwithstanding are armed and furnished but like vnto light horsemen: and you knowe that a man that is armed light, shall neuer do the effect that a man may do that is well armed, who can not be hurt by hand-strokes, where as the light horseman is subiect vnto blowes vpon many parts of his body, because

because that his harnesse is not so heauie, nor so sure as the men of armes ought for to be, and not without cause, for the paines that a light horseman and other light armed ought to take, there is no man able to indure with a complet harnesse, nor horse able to carry him: but as for the men of armes, who are appointed to abide firmly the assaults of their enemies, and not to runne from the one side to the other, may be laden with heauie harnesse; and to carry such a waight, they ought to haue strong and great horses, for besides this, the horses must be barbed. These men of armes ought to haue arming swords by their sides, a mace hanging at their saddle pomell: their launces must be strong and of a reasonable length, their coates must be of the collour of their Ensigne, the which as also the Guidon, ought to be of the same collour that the Ensignes of the footemen of the same Legion are. The light horsemen must be good souldiers, and armed with cutters, & rattes that shall reach to the knee, with gauntlets, vambraces, and large pouldrons, and with a strong and close head-piece, the light being cut; their cassaks shall be of the collour of their Ensigne: they must carry a broad sword by their sides, a mace at the pomels of their saddle, and a lance of good length in their fist. The Hargoletiers shall be armed like vnto the light horsemen, sauing vpon their armes; in stead of vambraces and gauntlets, they shall haue sleues and gloues of male, a broad sword by their sides, their maces at the pomels of their saddles, & a Jaueline in their hands of 10. or 12. foote long, headed at both ends with a sharpe head, or may carry a lance as the others: their garments vpon their harnesse ought to be very short, without sleues, and of the collour abouesaid. These hargoletiers may serue for skirmishes, & may do great murdye with their Jauelins among vnarmed men & horses, & when as they would set foot on ground, they might do the same seruice that pikemen do: and if they do carry launces, they may vse them as others do. The harquebusiers shall likewise be well mounted, & their armour shalbe like vnto the Hargoletiers, except the head-piece: for they only shal haue Purrions, to the intent to see the better round about them, & to haue their heads at more liberty, a sword by their sides, a mace at the pomell of their saddles on the one side, and a harquebuste in a case of leather on the

the other, which must be made fast that it stirre not: which harquebuste may be 2. foote and a halfe, or 3. foote long, or rather more so it be light: their coates shalbe of the same fashion and colour that the Hargoletiers are. The harquebustiers wages in time of peace, may be 3. crownes a month, the hargoletiers 4. the light horsemen 5. and the men of armes 7. The Decurions of men of armes ought to haue somewhat more wages then a simple man of armes, and y Decurions of light horsemen more then an ordinary man, and so likewise the others: which wages may be augmented or doubled in time of warres, if that I speake of be thought to be too little. Touching the estate of Chieffes & members, it might continue such as it is at this instant, but the Marshals must be raised, and the Harbingers ought to haue as much as the light horsemen, and the Trompets as much as y hargoletiers: & as for y 2. conductors, they should haue as much as the Decurions amongst mē of armes, and if so be that their wages were paid to thē at the end of euery 3. moneths, or at the Legion his passing muster, it should not be greatly needfull to put them into garrison in time of peace, as we are accustomed to do in Fraunce: for that I do thinke this wages to be sufficiēt to maintaine them at home or else-where, without oppressing the people through great charge. For what garrison soeuer they haue, or how long so euer they do continue in it, you see not that they do the King any whit y better seruice whē the warres come, then if they neuer had bin there. I do not say, but if that they did vse it in y sort that it ought to be vled, that it were not well done to kēpe the bands in garrison alwayes, to vse & exercise their armes together: but at this day the greatest part of horsemen do make their profitees of their garrisons, as the Merchants do of their merchandise, and there is almost no difference, but that the Merchants do sell their commoditie vnto the first that do offer thē reason for it: & the horsemen do compell the people to buy the victuals which the King doth ordaine for their maintenance, at such prices as they will themselves, so y their dealing is rather a manifest raunsome, then a merchandise. And albeit that they should be exempted from garrison, it must be ordeined y the bands should mēte together at generall musters, mounted, & armed according to y order, & that betwixt
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the musters they should exercise themselves at home : or if they should be lodged in garrison, to make them to be longer resident then they are : and also that the Captaines themselves should keepe in garrison, as they did in the time of King Lewes the 11. at which time the hoxslemen of Fraunce carped the name aboue all other, as well for their readinesse, as for their furniture : not for their readinesse in dauncing after diuers fashions, (and yet a daunce that a man might profit by, were not to be disliked) nor likewise for trimming by themselves minion-like, nor for stuffing themselves with feldbeds, or with diuers sorts of garments, for then there was no accompt made, but of him that handled and rid a hoxse well, & that did run with a launce, fight best with the sword, wrastled, leapt, threw the bar, & vaulted better then other ; was most esteemed, & he also had the praise aboue his companions that was mounted & armed better then they, so that there were few hoxslemen but they were mounted with 3. or 4. great hoxse at least, and one of them, or all were barbed. As for their persons, they were wiser then to destroy themselves with apparel, as Gentlemen do at this day, but they were armed lyke S. George, & as full of Crownes, as dogs are of fleas. Furthermore, they should be forbidden to sell their aforesaid garrisons, or their victuals appointed, and to take vp other prouision then that which the King doth ordaine. I vnderstand that this was forbidden them not long since, but whether these hoxslemen be in garrison or not, they must exercise themselves to be nimble, to haue their bodies to be at ease in their harnesse, & accustome themselves therevnto, for y necessities that may happen : for sometimes it may so fall out, that the hoxslemen shalbe constrained to trauaile a long way a foote, wherevnto if they were not accustomed, they could not indure the waight of their harnesse, nor do their indeuour at a fight. Moreover, they should exercise themselves to mount a hoxseback armed with all their peeces, & the launce in their fist, & to light without help, aduantage, or stirrup, and therefore it should be necessary for the to haue some hoxse of wood, to exercise themselves vpon, at the least one houre in a day, that they might be ready to mount & light at the first signe the Captaine should make the. Furthermore, they should exercise to passe great riuers a hoxseback & armed, & also to climb the hardest

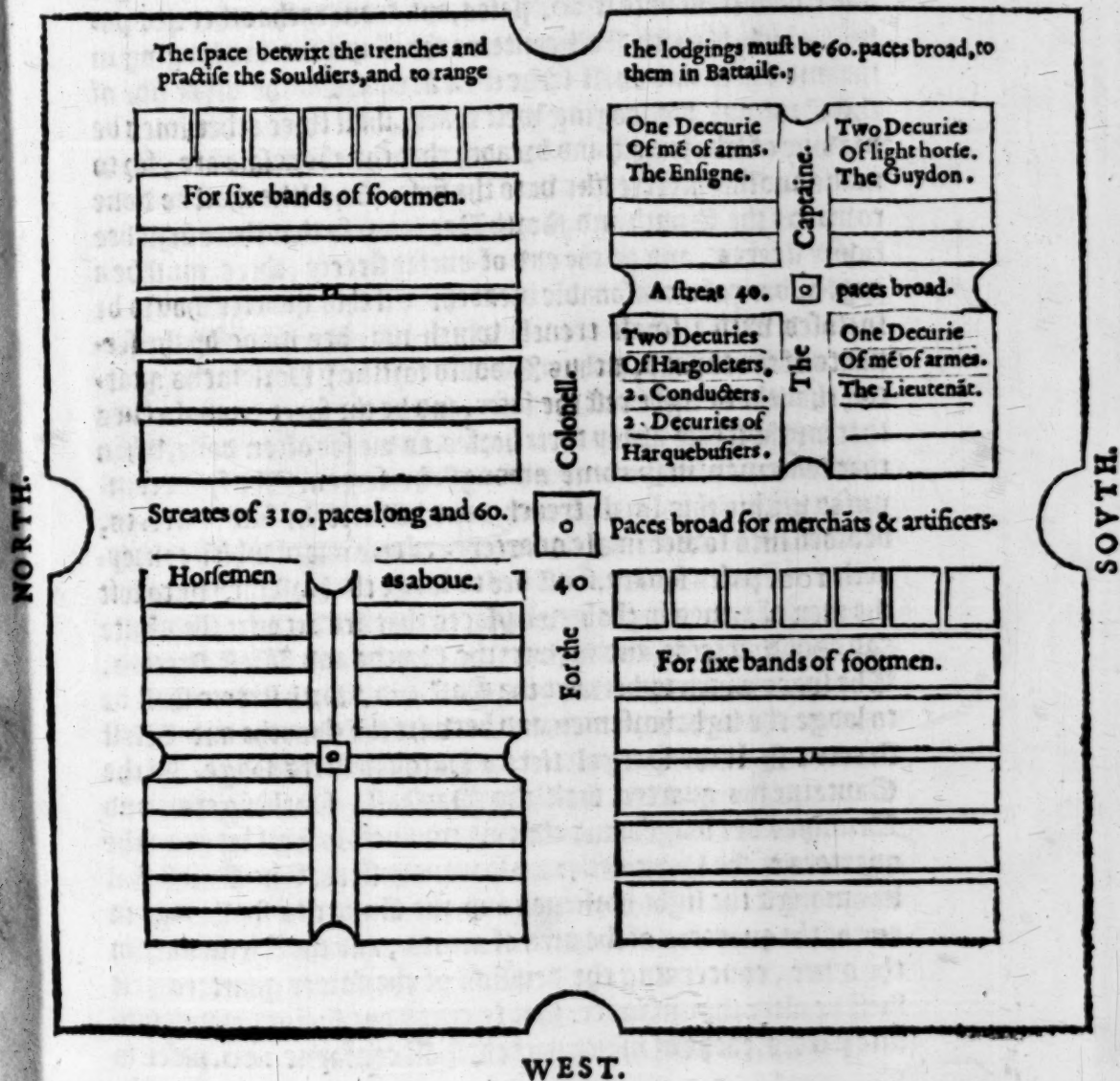
hardest and raggedst mountaines that are, and to runne or to go downe them in great haste, principally the Harquebusiers, Hargoletiers, and likewise the light Horsemen. As for the men of armes, they must continue fyne, and must not serue for the purposes that they doe at this daye: but should be as a fort to resist all assaults, and to ouerthrow and breake all those whom they should assaile, but because of the runnings and skirmishes wherein they are ordinarily imployed, which are fyghts wherein oft times of force a man must lie in dread of taryng by it, they haue learned to shew their heeles: and therefore it is necessary that men of armes should be forbidden fro skirmishes and from all other places where it should be requisite to lie, and and where they should spoile their Horses and doe no service. The Baron of Gramont, who died in y voyage to Naples, willed that men of armes should neuer be imployed in these lyght fights, except it were when as a battell should bee fought thoroughly: for that they had learned by the custome and order of skirmishes, to turne their backs vnto their enimies, without feare of reproche, and to speake truth, a Skirmish is a seruice that appertaineth better vnto light Horsemen then vnto them: and for the same purpose onely are the light Horsemen appointed. But I would haue them to be exempted from all other seruices aswell as men of armes: and that the Harquebusiers and Hargoletiers should be skoutes, and serue for discoueries and skirmishes, and keepe company with the light Horsemen in all places: and that the light Horsemen should serue to back them, and the men of armes to be the cheefe force. For to speake that I thinke concerning the exercises the Horsemen ought to doo, I say fyrt that the Harquebusiers should exercise their Harquebuses, and practise to shote sure with both handes, and to discharge bothe forward and backward, their horses running, and also to light to keepe a straight, as Harquebusiers a foote should do. The Hargoletiers ought to vse their Janelings with both hands, sometime vsing it one way and sometime another, or as is abouesaid, but if they doe carrie launces, they must vse them as other men do. The lyght Horsemen should practise to ride well, to manadge a Horse, and to run well with a launce,

to vse their swords and mases when they shall bee needfull, the men of armes must doe the like, all which Horsemen ought to haue iudgement in all the deales that belong vnto a Horse for to find remedy therfore: and it would be for their credit if they could hit and shew them, to haue no lacke of any smal point belonging vnto their occupation. These Horsemen armed and practised as is abovesayd, must be at the muster with the Legion to exercise themselves together, if it were but to knowe and to be acquainted one with another. As for the Horsemens lodging and baggage, must be aswel entrenched as the footmens, but they must bring as little with them as they may possible, and that they doo bring must neither trouble nor lade them in going vnto the muster. They must liue vpon their owne purses, without taking any thing from other men, and must marche all day armed in good order, keeping watch at night: and when it is day, before that they doo dislodge, the Captaine shall send out Skouts to discouer the passages vpon the way where the companie shall passe. And this charge shall be giuen vnto certaine Decurions of Harquebusiers, and of Hargoletiers, who shall be followed with certaine Decurions of light Horsemen to succour them: after whom the baggage may marche, & then the Horsemen, & after them the men of armes, & if it were thought to be better to put the baggage behinde then before, it may be done, & behind it shall the rest of the Hargoletiers & Harquebusiers follow. The rankes of euery one of them in marching through the countrie, shall be of whole Decuries, except the way be too narrow. In the manner beforesayde may euery band of Horsemen marche in their going and coming from the muster: but before they come thither, the Marshall and the Harbingers shall goe before to prouide their quarter, which shall be ioining vnto the footmens, and they both together shall lodge in Campe, in this manner following.

of Militarie Discipline. 67

The forme of a Campe 660. paces square, for to lodge a Legion of footmen of 12. bands, with two bands of Horsemen, each band contayning 100. men of armes, 100. light Horsemen, 50. Hargoletiers, and 50. Harquebufiers.

EAST.



The hoxsemens quarter, must bee square euerie way 240. pases. For the iust deuinding, whereof you must first seeke out the verie midst of the place, and there make a square, to lodge the Captaine which shall be euerie way 20. pases. From this square, draw a line eastward, which shall be 110. pases long, and afterwarde draw two other lines frō the said lodging one either side of the first line one, which shall bee equall vnto it in length and equedistant vnto it 20. pases, and from eache other 40. pases: which breadth shall containe the Captaine his lodging in the midst of it, and shall serue for a streete. On the other side of the Captaine, his lodging west ward: shall three other lines be drawne of like length and breadth that the abouesaid are, for to make another streete like vnto the first. The like shall be done towards the South and North Regions: so that there shall bee fower streets, and at the end of euerie streete, there must be a gate or bare of a reasonable breadth. All this quarter should be inclosed with a smale trench which may bee made by the seruants of the cōpany, & thus I would fortifie þe Hoxsemens quarter, that they might rest the safer, and be the surer from theeuers that might steale away their hoxses, as we see often done, when that footemen may come amongst hoxsemen. The space comprised within this smale trench, and betwixt the fower streets, deuinded into fower smale quarters, euerie one of which conteyneth 100. pases square, shall bee to lodge the hoxsemen in: to wit the men of armes in those two places that are betwixt the East and South streete, and betwixt the North and West streetes. The space which is betwixt the East and North streetes shall be to lodge the light hoxsemen; and betwixt the Southe and West streetes shall the Hargoletiers & Harquebusiers lodge. In the Captaine his quarter, shall the Marshall, Harbengers, and Trumpes bee lodged: and the two conductors shall lodge in the quarters of the Hargoletiers, & Harquebusiers. The Guidō shall lie amongst the light hoxsemen and the Ensignes shall lodge in one of the quarters of the men of armes, and the Lieutenant in the other, concerning the deuision of the fower quarters, it shall be after this manner: that is euery one shall be deuinded into foue partes, eache of which partes, shall contayne 100. pases in length,

length, and 16. in breadth: and betwixt euerie two of this places there shall be a streete left of 5. paces in breadth, each one of these places shall haue roomth inough to lodge 100. horse and more. Moreover there may be rayled ten great tents, along the same, if the men of armes will euerie man haue his tente, as for the other they shall lodge two and two together. The places which are in the men of armes quarter, wil euerie one easely receiue a whole Decury of men of armes: and in the places in the other two quarters may lodge two Decuries of light horsemen, Halgolbetiers, and Parquebusiers at ease.

How it is necessary to deuide euerie Bataillon into three Battiles, the one seperated from the other.

The .9 Chapter.



Itt the Legion is assembled and lodged, we must proceed vnto the practising of the bands together, as well the footmen as the horsemen, to the intent to haue seruice of them against our enemies: which is the intent, for which this discipline is ordained, & for whose well ordering we take all these paines. To speake that I thinke, we must vnderstand that the greatest disorder that those that frame a Bataillon can make, is that they haue no other regard but to make a good head, wherein they place the Captaines, and all the most valiantest men, and the best armed of their bands, making no reckoning of the backs, flankes, nor ranks in the midst, as if the first rankes were all the hope of the victorie, and that the other serued but to make number. For by this meanes they make all the hazard of the Battaille subiect vnto two or three rankes, as if they were immortall, or sufficient of themselves to resist an enemy, without the helpe of those that are behinde them: which is directly contrarie vnto the order that the ancient men of war did vse; for they ordered their men so that one ranke might be receaued within another, and one Bataillon within another

other, and so to fight resolutely untill the be the last man. For without this maner it is not possible to succour the first rankes or to defend them, nor likewise to retire them within the other rankes to come to the fight in their places. With which maner of combat, the Romanes helped themselves oftentimes, and for this purpose they deuised their Legions into three sorts of people, which were called Hastaries, Princes, and Triaries. The Hastaries made the front or first battaile, and their rankes were furnished thicke with men. The Princes made the second battaile, and their rankes were opener then the first. And the Triaries who made the third and last battaile, had their men ranged so wide, that at a neede they could receiue the two first battailes. Moreover their Velites, who were light armed, did the same seruice that our Harquebusiers do at this present, and were placed vpon the wings betwixt the Bataillon and the Houssemens; and they began the battell. And if it were so that they ouercame their enemies, they followed the victorie, and if they were driuen backe, they retired vnto the flanks of the Bataillon. After whose retreat the Hastaries came to fight with their enemies, & if they felt themselves to weake to resist their enemies, they retired by little and little betwixt the open rankes of the Princes, and renewed the battaile with them: and if they were then too weake, they both rettyed vnto the Triaries, with whome they began the combat againe. And if these three sorts were ouerthrowne, there was then no remedye to helpe them. He thinkes that this manner of relieuing three times is inuincible, because that fortune must thise abandon you: and moreover your enemy must of necessitie fight, and vanquish you thise. The Greeks vsed not this maner of relieueng with their Phalanges, for although they had manye rankes and many Chieftes in their rankes; notwithstanding there was made but one onely head, and one onely body of them all. And the maner which they vsed to succour one another, was not to rettye one ranke within another as the Romanes did: but that one Souldier should enter into anothers place, which they did after this maner. The Phalange was ranged by rankes, as our Bataillons are, but it was not so confusedly as ours are: for
euery

every band did know his place. The Decuries (that is the
Deceius or Squadrons) were so ranged that the Souldiers
followed one another in rowes, and not in fronte as we place
ours. The first man of every row was called the Doien or De-
curion, (but I will terme him the Dicienier) and the last man
was called the Guide behind. The second man of every rowe
was called Substes & he that followed him was called Prestes,
and so throughtout they were Substes & Prestes, untill the sayde
Guide which was the last mā. Of these rowes they had so many,
that one Phalange had 256. men in fronte, or more, and 64.
rankes in length. True it is that they were distributed unto
four Colonels, but they marched all in front with a little di-
stance betwixt them. Let vs suppose that euery ranke hath
256 men, and let vs say that they come to ioyne battaille with
their enemies. If it happened that either in going or fightning
that anye one of them was slaine or ouerthrowne, he that be-
fore I haue termed Substes, put himselfe presently into the first
mans place: so that by that meanes the Souldiers of the first
ranke were alwayes their full number. And to fill the second
ranke, they of the third ranke which were called Prestes, put
forward themselves into their emptied places; and those of the
fourth ranke did furnish the third, and so following: so that the
last rankes did furnish the first, in such sort that the first rankes
were alwaies entier. And there was no place left empty but in
the last ranke, which wasted because there was no man to sup-
plie it, so that the losse that the first rankes suffered, was cause
of the consuming of the last. By this meanes the Phalanges
might sooner be consumed then disordred, for to ouerthrowe
them was impossible, because of their great number. The Ro-
manes at the first vsed Phalanges, & instructed their people after
the Greekes manner, but it is long sithence that they misliked
of their order: and therfore they deuised their people into many
bodies: to wit, into Cohortes, & Manipules: for they thought,
as I haue said before, that that bodie which had many soules, &
was compounded of many partes, ought also to haue manie
liues. The Bataillons of the Switzers, Almaines, ours, and
others do somewhat imitate the Phalanges, as well for that wee

doe range a great number of people together: as also that wee doe place them in such sort that they may enter one into another his place. But why this manner should not be so good as the Romanes, many examples of the Romane Legions do shew: for that as often as the Romanes fought against the Greekes their Phalanges were ouerthrowne and consumed by the Legions: for the difference of their armes, and the manner of relieuing threé times, had a moze force in it then the great number, or the diligence of the Phalanges. Being therefore to frame a Bataillon after all these examples, I haue thought it good to imitate partly the fashions of the Greekes Phalanges, and partly the Romane Legions, and partly these that we doe vse at this instant: and therefore I would that in euery one of our Legions there should be 3600. ordinarie Pikes for the body of the Bataillon, 420. for the flanks, and 170. extraordinarie Pikes for the foxlozne hope, which are armes that the Phalanges did vse. Besides I would haue 600. Halbardes, 420. Harquebusiers for the flanks, and 680. for the foxlozne hope, all which are armes inuented in our time.

I haue deuised the body of the Bataillon into 10. bandes, as the Romanes did theirs into 10. Cohortes, and haue appointed the Harquebusiers, and the foxlozne hope to begin the Battell, and for skirmishes, as the Romanes did their Velites, and haue giuen them two Captaines, and two Ensignes, to the intent to haue better seruice of them then if they had none: and also for to imploye them in the labours of the warres, as the other bands. And for that the armes are borrowed of diuers nations, the bandes must also bee participants of the orders of diuers nations: and therefore I haue ordained, that euery one of the ten bandes should haue 8 rankes of Pikes before the Ensigne, and 8 behinde, and 4 rankes of Halbardes in the midst: so that by that meanes euery band dooth make 20 rankes, and euery ranke hath 21. men. The Pikes doe serue for to resist Horsemen, to breake into the footmen, and to withstand the first assaults of their enemies: which Pikes I will vse onelye to defend my selfe, and afterwards vse the Targets (which the Pikemen doo carry at their backs) and Halbardes to banquish myne

myne enemies. And who so would consider of the force of this order, shall finde that euerye sort of armes shall doo his office throughe; for the Pikes are profitable against the Horsemen: and when the footmen doe meete Bataillon against Bataillon, they serue to a good vse before that the ranks are throng together, but after that they are once at the close, the Pikes can doe no more seruice. Wherefore the Switzers, to auoide this inconuenience, after euerye three ranks of Pikes do place one ranke of Halbardes, which they doo to the intent to giue their Pikemen space and place to fight in a prease; but yet this is not ynough, but as for vs, we will haue our Pikemen both before the Ensigne and behinde to carrie Targets: and there shall be Halbardes in the middest, by meanes of this order, to resist bothe Horsemen and footmen, and to breake into an enemy: for you know that Pikes may serue no turne after that the ranks are preassed together, because that the Souldiers are then as it were one in anothers necke: and therefore if the Pikemen had nothing but their Pikes and Swordes the Pike being abandoned they should be naked: for which cause I haue giuen them Targets to couer themselves from blowes, and to fight in all places, what prease soeuer there were. Moreouer the Halbardiers maye also fight better in a prease then the Pikemen, which Halbardiers are expressely appointed for this purpose, and likewise they may followe the sayde Targets at the heeles, who are heauily laden, to reskue them with their Halbards. And as for the Target men, I would haue them but onely to thrust at the face and legges, or at any other parte that were vnarmed. But leauing these small things, I will goe range the ten bands in one whole Bataillon.

How

How to range a Legion in battaile, and after what maner it must be practised,

The 10. Chapter.



Who so would range ten bands in a Bataillon, must first put a side by themselves the Pikemen, and Harquebusiers that are appoynted for the flanks: those of the one 5 bands on the one side, & those of the other on the other. And likewise one band of the forlorne hope on the one side, & the other on the other side, in such sorte that the said bandes of these two flanks shall leaue a great void space betwixt them, for to range the bataillon in, which shalbe done after this manner. The first band shall goe before the second, and the second before the third, and the third before the fourth, and so likewise the others. They shal marche in their single order that is five and five in a ranke as I haue said before. Afterwards the Colonell shall commaund his trumpet to sound, that the King commaundeth them to double their rankes. And then the rankes of five shall be doubled and made 10. This done the Colonell, or Sergeant Major shall commaunde the trumpet to sound againe, that the King commaundeth them expressly to redouble their rankes, which at this second cry shalbe 20. in the middest of euerie ranke shall the Chiefe of Squadron place him-selfe to make it to be 21. The Trumpet shall sounde the third time by commaundement as before, and at this sound the first bande shal goe forward vnto the place where the front of the Bataillon shall be placed, and shal stay there in that order that I haue ranged the perticular bands. The space which euerie Souldier must occupie marching in single order must bee three paces, in battaile 2, and when he fighteth 1. The distance from one ranke vnto another being in single order must be 4. paces, and being placed in battaile 2. and in fight one. So that the said 21. men being in battaile will occupie 42. paces in fronte, and the 20. rankes will occupie 60. in length, heere in compysed the space that

that euery Souldier dooth occupie which is one pace. The first band being so ranged, the second shall march as far forwarde as the first, and place it selfe vpon the right hand of it, and shall occupie as great a space in breadth and length as it doeth. Their rankes shall bee straight in the flankes one by another, and the two bands thus ranged together, shall make 42. in fronte, and their order shall bee all one, they must haue a space left betwixt them of 5. paces broade. The thirde band shall bee brought forward vpon the left side of the first bande, and shall bee ranged like vnto the other two, and not otherwise, and betwixt it and the first shall also a space be left of 5. paces broade. The fourth band shall bee brought forward vpon the right side of the second, and shall bee ranged in rankes and spaces like vnto the others, and shall alwaies make the right corner. The fyft shall bee brought forward vpon the left side of the thirde bande, and shall bee ranged as the others, and shall alwaies make the left corner. These five bands thus ordered doe make 105. men in front, and doe occupie in breadth 230 paces, and 60. in length. at the taile of these bands, we must range the sixt, seauenth, and eight bande, right behinde the other five, and distant from them 25. paces, and in such sorte that these three bands must occupie as greate a breadth in front as the other five: and therefore the men must be ranged much opener the those in the first five. The sixt band shall bee in the midst, the seauenth vpon the right side of it, and the eyght vpon the left: which three bands doe make 63. in fronte, and the space which they occupie in length is 90. paces. At the backs of these three bands shall the ninth and tenth band be placed right behinde them, and distant from them 25. paces. The ninth shalbe on the right side, and the tenth on the left, and they shall occupie as much breadth as the first five. True it is that the rankes of these two bands shall bee opener then those of the second battaile are: but it is necessarie that they shoulde bee so, for the reason that I will shewe you by and by.

Their order shal be like vnto the other bands, but that the distance of the rankes of these two bands, shall be more then the distance of the rankes of the others: for whereas the rankes of
the

the second battaile doth occupie but 90. paces frō the first ranke vnto the last, these shall occupie 120. paces: wherefore al the 10. bands together will occupie 230. paces in breadth, and 320. from the fyrst ranke of the Bataillon vntill the last. Moreover I would that these thre battailes should haue certaine expresse names: for the Romanes did so distinguish theirs, naming (as I haue said before) the Souldiers of the fyrst battaile Hastaries, those of the second Princes, and those of the thirde Triaries. For to arme the flankes, fyrst for the right flanke I would take the Pikemen of the fyrst, second, fourth, seuench, and ninth band, and would range them alongst the Bataillon two and two, so that the flanke should represent as great a number of men as the front doeth. The Harquebusiers of the fīue bands aforesaide, shall also bee ranged two and two together alongst the flanke of these pikes, fyue or six paces distant from them. The Pikemen of the third, fyft, sixt, eyght, and tenth bande shall be on the left side and shalbe ranged like vnto those vpon the right side, and the Harquebusiers like vnto the other. The Corporals of both flankes shalbe by themselves before their men. The two bands of the fozelorne hope, shal be the one vpon the one flanke, and the other vpon the other. The Harquebusiers shalbe ranged in 16 rankes, and their Pikes in 4, euerie one of which ranke shall haue 21 men, their Ensigne shalbe in the midst of their Pikes. The one companie of 100. men of armes shall bee vppon the one flanke, and the other vppon the other flanke, and shall bee like vnto two wings. As for the light Horsemen they shall be ranged before the men of armes, or at their sides, who so would, in such sorte that they both together might make one fronte: or if you would range them both by two Decuries, and two Decuries, you may doe it. The Hargoletiers shall be before them and the Harquebusiers a horsebacke for most, the Captaines shall be before the men of armes, the Lieutenants before the light horsemen, & the Conductors before the Hargoleteires, and the Harquebusiers; either of them before his charge. The Colonel shall place himselfe in the voide place betwixt the Hastaries, and the Princes, or at the head of the Bataillon, at one of the corners betwixt the fourth bande and the Pikes vpon the right flanke, or
betwixt

betwixt the fyft bande and the Pikes, vpon the left flanke, as it shall seeme best. I would that he should haue with him in his Squadron, the Sergeant Maior, and some chosen men, that knewe wiselpe to execute a commission of importance. His Trumpet and Drum Maior, shall be alwayes by him to sound and to signifie his commaundement speedilpe. When the Battailon shall be thus ordered, the Colonell shall commaund his Trumpet to sound, that his men should marche easilpe, and in a while after shall sounde to make them to goe faster, and afterward shall sounde the combate. The Hastaries must not be forgotten to be taught how they should retire themselves within the Princes: nor how both these Battailles of Hastaries and Princes, should retyre vnto the Triaries, which must be doone without disordering or breaking themselves. The Pikes vpon the flankes ought to retire, as the Battailles doe retire: to wit, the firste ranke into the seconde, the thirde ranke into the fourth, and the fift into the sixt, and the others consequentlpe. The forlorne hope, and the Horsemen shall doe so like wise. This doone a retreat shall be sounded, and euery bande shall fall of a part, and put their men into single order, to reenter the Campe as they came out. And if it should seeme better to range the Princes and Triaries in one front, they might be so aswell as the Hastaries: for then there neede no more to be doone, but to make the ninth and the tenth bande, to put themselves betwixt the second and thirde band, in whole bands: and that the sayd Princes and Triaries should keepe the same order that the five bands of Hastaries doe keepe, and occupie as much ground in breadth and length as the sayd Hastaries doe occupie: or otherwise foure bands of the Hastaries might make the front, and the fyft might be placed in the middle Battailon, with one bande of Princes, and both these bandes might range themselves in ten rankes, 42. men in euery ranke: and the seuenth and eyght band of the sayde Princes might bee ranged with the Triaries: and so there should be aswell foure bandes behinde, as foure before, and two in the middle all ranged lyke vnto the Hastaries: or these two bandes may bee behinde occupying

pyeng the place of the Triaries accordyng vnto Polibius his order, who would that the Triaries should bee alwayes the one halfe lesser then the Princes or Hastaries : so that in eache of the other Battailles there should bee foure bandes, and in this but two, prouided that whereas these two bands befoze made 20. rankes, they should then make but 10 : to the intent that their frontes should stretch as wide as the frontes of the other Battailles.

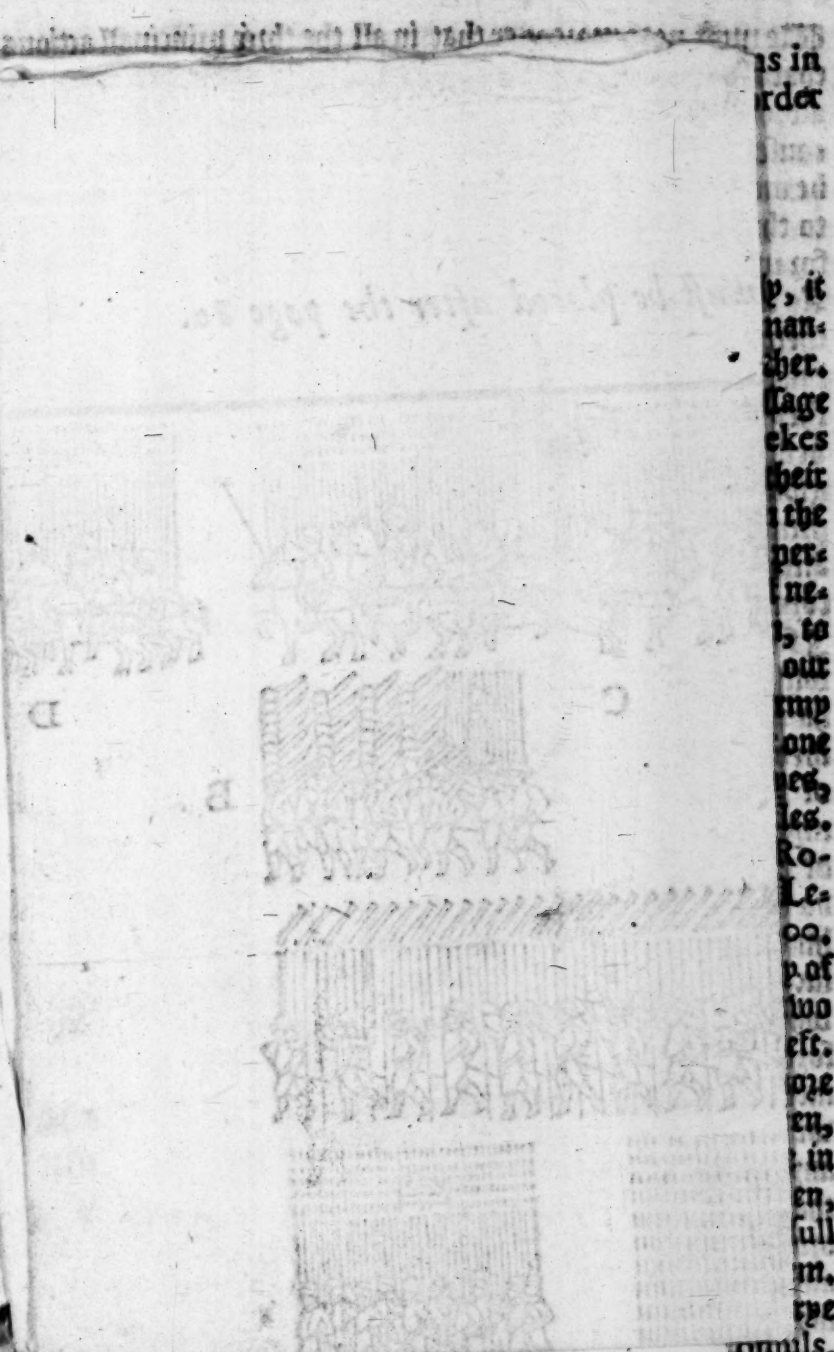
Wee might also range one of these Legions in forme of a Phalange, but to make it iust square as the order of the sayde Phalange requireth, wee must alter a great part of the order of these Legions, for to doe it so that there should be no difference. But as concerning one of those Legions that I haue framed heere befoze, I haue shewed the order that I would obserue in ranging one of them in Battaille or manie : notwithstanding if I should range one of those Legions which the King hath ordeined in Fraunce, I would proceed after another maner, if so bee that the manner of Hastaries, Princes, and Triaries befoze spoken of, were disliked : for in this case I would make but two Battailles, in the first I would place thre bandes and their Ensignes ; and in the last thre bandes and their Ensignes : and this I would doe accordyng vnto the manner that I haue spoken of in the seauenth Chapter, where I haue shewed howe to range one of these bandes alone : so that the thre bandes should make 75. men in front, which bandes with the two spaces of 5 paces broade left betwixt euery one of them, will occupie 160. paces in breadth : and the 24. rankes will occupie 70. paces in length. I would place the other thre bandes behinde them in the selfe-same order, that they are in, but as they should make the force behinde, and stand euery in ranke with the first : so I would haue a distance of 20. paces broad betwixt them and the first : by this meanes the length of the Battailon might be 160. paces. The extraordinarie Pikes of thre bandes, should serue for the one flanke, and these of the other thre for the other, ranged two and two together : and the Harquebusiers for the flankes a little distant from them. The
forloyme

foze lozne hope shall march before vpon the winges, and the horsemen shall keepe the same place that they keepe in the Legions aboue saide; and the Colonell shall be at one of the corners, betwixt the bands and the Pikeinen in the flanke, or else where it might bee thought most expedent. And although that this forme might seeme to be very good, yet is it so that the manner before spoken of is much more sure: because of the meanes that it hath to relieue it selfe three times, and to fight thrice; which this Legion here last ranged cannot doe: for if it fought well once, it woulde bee all; notwithstanding it might bee taught through long exercise, how the one ranke might fight after the other, which to do it should be necessarie to teache the first ranke to retire within the second, and so the others vnto the verie last man, not putting any men out of his place, which may be easilie done; so that those which should make place for them to passe do put themselves a little aside, & immediatly come into their places againe. The like must bee done when the second shoulde retire, and the other also: so that this manner might bee obserued I woulde much esteeme of this last manner. And at the vttermost which soeuer of these manners you range them in, it may serue: so that the Souldiers be often practised therein.

But to repeat my sayings from the fyrst vnto the last, the Legion which I haue framed after the auncient manner should be exercised in diuerse exercises euerie day, as long as it contineweth together, and by this meanes the Colonell should finde the diligence, and negligence of the Captaines, in the practising of their Souldiers: to the intent to praise or blame them in the presence of al men according vnto their desarts: & the souldiers shall learne also to range themselves together, vnto whome shall be shewed all the exercises that they ought to do in general being before accustomed, vnto their perticular exercises. And for their better instruction it should be necessarie that the Legion should assemble twice a yeare at the least, and that the bands should exercise themselves perticularly euerie moneth or oftener if it were possible: and the Souldiers by themselves euerie
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holie day with their Deceniers, Chieffes of Squadrons, and Copozals. The Colonell ought to exhort them vnto this, and vnto all other vertuous exercises both publikly and p̄mately : and afterward to giue them leaue to tourne vnto their owne houses: which retourning shall bee in euerie poynte like vnto their going to the muster, keeping the same manner of marching, lodging, and well sp̄ieng that is spoken of. Which ought to be obserued as often as the Kings doeth leuie a Legion for his warres. I haue caused in this place the forme to bee shewed that one of these Legions abouesaid shall haue being ranged in battaile.

*Here must the figure be placed, which doeth shewe
the forme that a Legion shall haue: being ranged
in battaile.*



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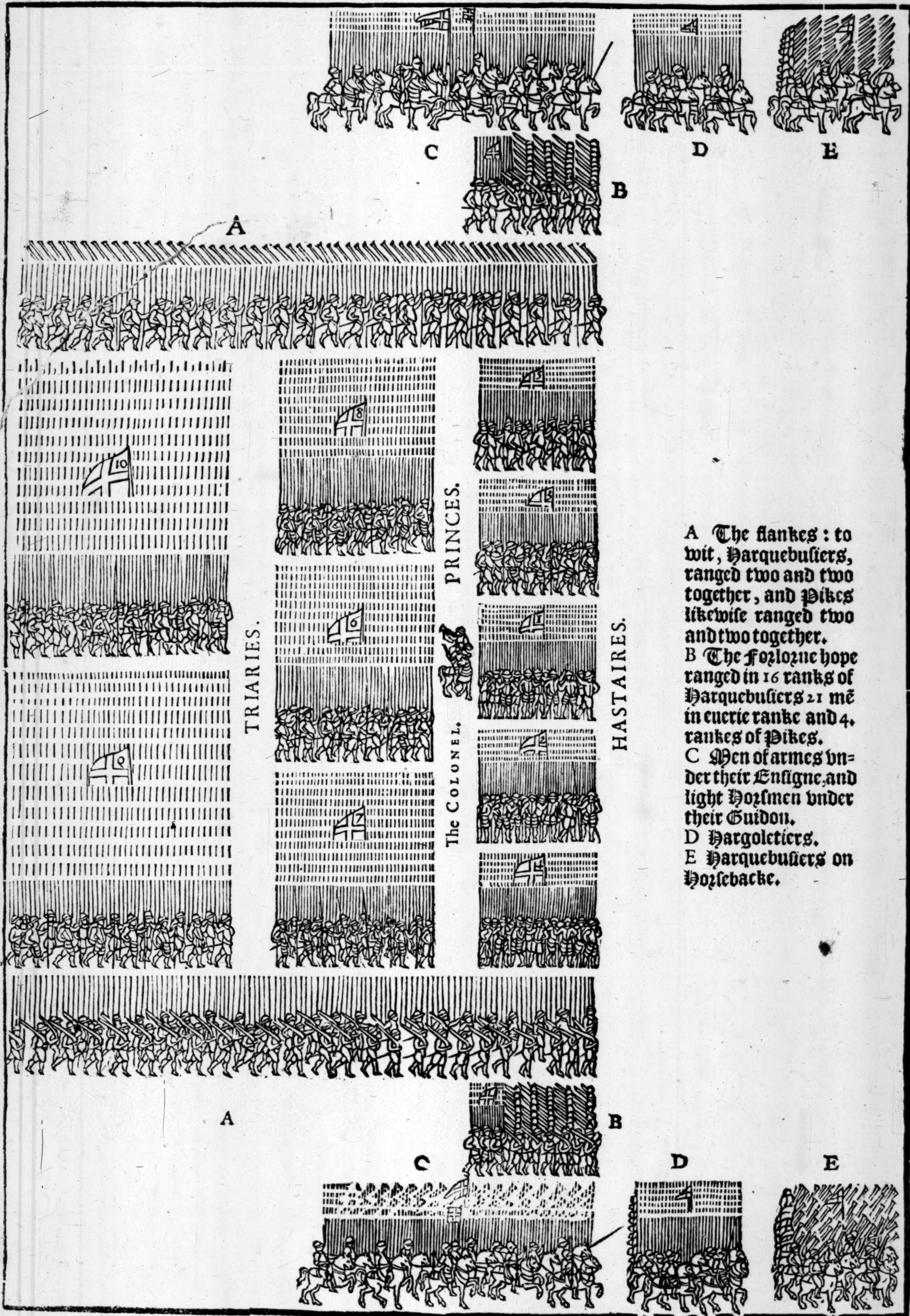
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omuls,

and caused the two Hostes Consulares, to joyne together.

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the



A The flanks : to wit, Harquebusiers, ranged two and two together, and Pikes likewise ranged two and two together.
 B The Forlorne hope ranged in 16 ranks of Harquebusiers 21 mē in euerie ranke and 4. ranke of Pikes.
 C Men of armes vnder their Ensigne, and light Horsemen vnder their Guidon.
 D Hargoletiers.
 E Harquebusiers on Horsebacke.

bolie nav with their Deceniers, Chieftes of Squadrons, and Cox.

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How from poynt to poynt to raunge foure Legions in battayle, wherein, the Author doth giue the best order that may be obserued.

The 11. Chapter.



Sith we haue instructed the Legions seuerally, it followeth that we should now speake of the manner of raunging of one whole Battaille together. And for to do this, it were necessary in this passage to declare amply after what manner the Greekes and the Romanes ordered their Battailles, but sith that their manner may be found and considered of by every man in the auncient Authors that do write thereof: I will leaue many particulars of their fashions, and will speake only of the most necessaryest, and of that which we ought to borrow of them, to giue some little perfection vnto the Militarie Discipline of our time. This doing, I will shew all vnder one, how an Army must be ordered vpon a day of Battaille, and in what order one Host doth approach and assaile another, being their enemyes, and the manner how to exercise them in sayned Battailles. We must vnderstand, that in an ordinary Host of the Romanes which they called *Consularis*, there were but two Legions of the Citizens of Rome, which were in number 600. horsemen, and 10000. footemen: besides, they had as many of their assistants, as of their owne, who were deuised into two parts, the one was called the right corner, the other the left. They would neuer suffer that their assistants should be more in number then their Legionaries, but as for the horsemen, they made no great accompt, although they were more in number then theirs. With such an army of 20000. footemen, and about 1500. horse of seruice at the vttermost, a Consull of Rome did enterpryse all factions, and did execute them. True it is, that when as they were to deale with a verie great force of their enemyes, they assembled two Consuls, and caused the two Hostes *Consulares*, to ioyne together.

We must note mozeouer that in all the three principall actions that an army doth, as in marching, lodging, and fighting, the aforesaid Romanes did put theyr Legions in the middelt, because they would that the force which they trusted most, should be most united : yet their confederates were not inferiours unto them, because of the great practise that they had together : for in truch they were practised and raunged after one manner. As they had two Legions of their owne Citizens, and two of their assistants in euery one of their hoasts, so likewise I will take foure Legions of Frenchmen, or two at the least, and they shall be of 6100. footemen, for this number liketh me best, for that Vegetius hath vsed it in the framing of his Legions, and of the two abouesaid Legions I will make my principall force. If so be that we would haue strange souldoyers amongst them, I would place the sayd strangers at the two corners of the army as the Romanes did their assistants. But I suppose that there shall be no strangers in the hoast that I will make at this present, or if there should be, I would not haue the number of the Legions which I require to be diminished : but that there should alwayes be foure : by the ordering of which foure, may easly be vnderstode how a greater army should be raunged : for if there should be a greater number of people then the sayd foure Legions, there were no moze to do but to make many small Bataillons, and to place them behinde and at the sides of the Bataille, in forme of Sublides, to succour any part of the Bataillon that might be oppressed : of which Sublides it shall be necessary to vse for the diuers formes of Bataillons that enemyes oftentimes do make, to the intent that without changing or taking any thing out of place, we might at all times haue wherewithall to resist them : as if any of the enemyes Bataillons should be raunged in Point, that is, with a narrow strong battaile, we might immediatly bring forward those that are behinde, and those vpon the flanks, and range them in the forme of two united forces, to receiue and inclose betwixt them the enemyes Point when it shall approach : or if the said enemyes should march with their front of great breadth, they then might march in Point, and force to breake into

into them. These people would be also good to repulse those that should sodainely charge vpon the flanks of the Bataillon or behind, they may also serue to relieue those that are in danger, or to strike downe those þ runne away: and for many other good actions (which I leaue to speake of) wherein we might employ those that might be in our Camps ouer and aboue the said four Legions: notwithstanding for these purposes there neede none to be leuied, sith the Foxloze hope, & those of the flanks might serue the turne. Furthermoze, I thinke that it shall not be needfull to recte againe the number of people that I haue appointed for euery Legion, nor that there are tenne ordenary bands, and two extraordinary: nor what armes and weapons they should carry, nor the diuersitie of Pikemen, nor what officers & Chiefs there should be in euery Legion: because that I haue befoze rected them perticularly, wherefoze without any moze repetition, I say that the first Legion (for they must all be distinguished by degrees) ought at all times to be raunged in the Bataillon in one place, and the others likewise. Therefore I would that the first Legion should keepe the right side, and the second the left, and that the first rankes of the Hastaries of these two Legions should be raunged as farre forward the one as the other, and all the other rankes following. And for a moze manifest demonstration, suppose that the enemyes be towards the East, and that we do raunge the fronts of our battailes towards them, the first Legion being vpon the right hand on the South side, the second Legion vpon the left hand on the North side, and their backs towards the West: and the Hastaries one right against another, & one as far forward as an other, and þ Princes & Triaries of both these two Legions, must likewise keepe one and the selfe-same order, ranks, spaces, & distances: there must a space be left betwixt the two Legions from the front vnto the tayle, which must be thirty paces broade: these two Legions shall occupy the place that the two Legions of the Citizens of Rome did occupy. I would haue the third Legion to be placed on the right corner, & the fourth on the left, and raunged in the selfe-same order that þ two Legions betwixt thē are, with spaces betwixt thē of 30. paces broade: so that the foure Legions

should occupy in breadth a thousand paces or more. The
 Forlorne hope shall be at the head, and the horsemen of the
 first and third Legion shall be on the right wing: and the horse-
 men of the second and fourth Legion vpon the left wing.
 And for to gouerne this army well, it would be necessary to
 haue certayne principall Chieffes, and Officers, who should
 be subiect and obedient vnto one Lieutenant Generall. There
 shall be therefore two Chieffes, to w^et, one Captaine generall
 of the horsemen, vnto whome, all the Captaynes that haue
 charge of horsemen, must be obedient. The other shall be
 Captaine generall ouer the footemen, vnto whome, all the
 Colonels and Captaines that haue charge of footemen shall
 be obedient. The dignitie of these two Chieffes is equall, be-
 cause that the one commaundeth ouer the one kinde of Soul-
 dyers, and the other ouer the other: and they are the highest
 degrees that are in an army (excepting the Generall chiefe) and
 vnto which estates all other degrees may aspire, each one in his
 facultie, as he that is a horseman, may attaine to be Cap-
 taine generall ouer horsemen: and he that is a footeman, may
 attaine to be Captaine generall ouer the footemen: to arise
 vnto which dignities, there must be as many degrees passed in
 the one facultie, as in the other: for I make twelue degrees in
 either of them. First amongst the footemen there is þ Forlorne
 hope, amongst whom, I would place all those which I would
 inroole to fill a Legion. The second place is to be of þ flanks,
 & in these two places they should passe through all offices ex-
 cept the Corporals, before that they should be of the Bat-
 tailon, & being of þ Battailon, they should first be Pikemen or
 Halbardiers amongst the Halstaries which is the third place,
 the fourth, are the Princes, the fift, Triaries, the sixt to be Dece-
 nier, the seauenth to be chiefe of Squadron, the eight to be Cor-
 porail, the ninth to be Ensigne-bearer, whether it were of the
 Battailon, or of the Forlorne hope, the tenth Lieutenant, the
 eleuenth Captaine, the twelfth Colonell. And for the Horse-
 men, the first point is to be Harquebusiers, the second Har-
 goletiers, the third light horsemen, the fourth a man of
 Armes, the fift a Decurion of Harquebusiers, the sixt
 a Decurion

a Decurion of Hargoletiers: the 7. a Decurion of light horsemen, the eight, a Decurion of men of armes, or conductors of hargoletiers or Harquebusiers, the ninth Guydon, & tenth Ensigne, the eleventh Lieutenant, and the twelfth Captaine. Concerning the other places as Harbingers, Sergeants of Bands, Sergeants, Maiors, Marshalls of Legions, Masters of Campe, or Pouoit (for it is all one) and others, theirs are offices, but not degrees, whereby a man ought to attaine vnto the estates of the two Soueraignes, except the King did appoint it to be so, who may alter and change all orders. As concerning the officers that ought to be in an Hoast, besides these that I haue heere spoken of, there must be first of all some wise man who should execute the office of Chauncelloz or Councelloz, as you will tearme him: and a maister of the Ordinance, a Threasorer, and a Marshall of the Campe, we might appoint also a Pouoit generall. Now to appoint vnto euery one of these principall Chiefe their places, the army being ready for the Combate, and likewise vnto the other officers heere aboue named, we must say that the Lieutenant Generall ought to be vpon the right side, betwixt the footemen and the horsemen, for that is the fittest place to gouerne an army. The Kings Lieutenant Generall may haue in his company a 100. or 200. chosen men, some a horsebacke, and some a foote, of which number there shall be some sufficient to execute a charge of importance, he himselfe must be a horsebacke, and so armed, that he might helpe himselfe both a horsebacke and a foote, according vnto the occasion that might be giuen. His Cornet must be by him, which is the Ensigne of those that are Chieffes of Armies, and & Kings Trompet, generally after whose sound, all the Trompets of the army must gouerne themselves, and the souldyers likewise. The Lieutenant generall of the army ought then to be vpon the right side, for it is the fittest place to giue order vnto all parts of the battaile, and to ouer-looke them with least trouble, except the scituation of the place were fitter vpon the other side: but I suppose that this Hoast is raunged in some faire plaine. The Captaine generall of the footemen shall be at the head of that space, that is left betwixt the two middle Le-

gions, to gouerne all the foure Legions, and to remedy the accidents that may happen: and therefore he shall haue about him certaine extraordinary footemen, or may vse certaine Pike-men and harquebusiers of the flanks if he will: specially those of the flanks betwixt the two middle Legions, for it will be long before that they should be assailed there. The Captaine Generall of the horsemen shall be vpon the left side to gouerne there as the Lieutenant Generall doth gouerne the right side: and may haue about him certaine footemen, Pikes, and Harquebusiers, which he shall take from the Forlorne hope, and shall cause them to fight amongst the horsemen without keeping order. The Ordnance ought to be placed at the front of the Army, except the ground were such that it might be placed vpon the flanks, or else-where in some sure place where the enemies might not easily come to it. The maister of the Ordnance ought to be with his charge, and his Officers and Gunners with him: a good number of the chiefe Officers ought to be about the King his Lieutenant Generall, and the rest behinde the Battailles, to haue a regard vnto that might happen there. As for the Baggage, it should be placed in some place either strong by nature or by arte, and the seruants of the Host may keepe it, and for this purpose I required that they should be chosen to be such as might serue for souldyers at a neede. And an Host ranged after this manner here spoken of, might in fight do asmuch as the Greekes Phalanges, or as the Romane Legions might do, because that there are Pikemen in the front, and vpon the sides: and moreover, the Souldyers are ranged in such sort, that if the first ranke should be slaine or beaten downe in fight, then those that are in the second, might presently supply theyr places, and fill theyr ranks, according vnto the vse of the Phalanges. On the other part, if the first ranks of Hastaries were so violently charged, that they should be enforced to breake, they might then retire vnto the Princes which are at their backs, and range themselves anew betwixt their ranks, who are not so thicke placed as the Hastaries, for they are two hands lesse then they. Moreover, there is a greater distance from the first ranke of the Princes

Princes vnto the last, then the said Halkaries do occupie in their order, and therefore they may fight anew, and shew their faces being ranged with the Princes. And when as this would not serue the turne, they might retyze the second time, as they did the first, and enter betwixt the Triaries, and fight the third time, so that this manner of relieuing, & furnishing of the places of those that are stricken downe, is both according vnto the Greekes and Romanes manner. Furthermore, it were not possible to frame a more stronger forme of Battaille then this, because that all the sides of the Battailles are most excellently well furnished with Chieffes and good armes, so that they can not be assailed at any part that is not strong and well gouerned, heere with considered that the enemyes are verie seldome so great a number as they might assaile those with whome they should haue to do alike vpon all partes. And if it were so that they were strong ynough to do it, I would neuer counsaile the weaker to offer the Battaille, nor to accept it, nor to goe out of his Fort into an open Countrey. But if the enemy were so strong, that he had thre times as much people as you, and as good Souldyers as yours, and should assaile you in diuers places, if you could repulse but the one part, the others would do no great deede: for who so should assaile bys enemyes vpon diuers sides, must of necessitie weaken and diminish his Battayles, and be constrained to range them so farre asunder, that if one part should be repulled, hauing no body to succour it, the other parts would be dismayed, or at least would but weakely resist. And as for the enemy his horsemen, if they were stronger then you, yet are you assured from them, by meanes of the Pikes which enuiron your Battayles vppon euery side: for what side so euer should be assailed, you haue Pikemen to defend the same: moreover, the officers, numbers, & Chieffes, are distributed into such places, & they may easily commaund their people, & obey their Captain generall. The distances betwixt & ranks, bands, & battailles, do not only serue for to receiue one another, but also to make place for those that come and goe, to carry & re-carry the commaunds

of the Chieffes. Furthermore I haue said that the Romanes had in foure of their Legions the number of 21000. footemen, which were all the people that they commonly had in one of their armyes. This Hoast which I frame heere, hath 25000. not accompting the principall Chieffes, and Officers, who also haue some followers. Finally, they had horsemen, so likewise mine haue a good number, who are better armed and furnished then theirs were: wherefore sith the battailes are raunged in all points readie to fight, there resteth nothing but to set these people aworke. I do require therefore that I may be heere permitted to giue battaile with these foure Legions, against another great Hoast of Enemyes, to the intent to shewe after what manner I would haue them to fight: afterward, I will giue a reason for that I cause them to do during the battaile, which battaile I do fayne by imagination.

The Author sheweth by a fayned Battaile how an army of foure Legions raunged after the manner that he teacheth, should vse their fight against their enemyes vpon a day of battaile.

The 12. Chapter.



We do suppose that euery one doth sufficiently vnderstand the ordering of this Hoast, and do imagine to see it readie to begin battaile, when so euer it shall be needfull. Or else let vs put case that our enemyes are come out of their Fort, and our men also, and that both the one and the other meane nothing else but to meete, and are approached within Cannon shot. Let vs also suppose that the said enemyes are raunged in very good forme of battaile, and that they haue a great force of all sorts of people, aswell footemē as horsemen, & besides, good stoze of Ordnance. And furthermore, p the place wherein these 2. armies do attēd,

to enter into battaile is large and plaine : so that the scituation cannot helpe the one to annoy the other . The matter being in these termes, and the two armies in sight, there resteth no more but to giue fire vnto the peeces , and to discharge them . You may now see that the gunners do not sleepe on neither side, and also heare how the cannon doth roze . Let vs marke what murder it doth . Haue you seene how little hurt our Ordnance hath done vnto the enemies at the first vollie? Herevpon the King his Lieutenant Generall, doth cause his Trumpet to sound to begin the battaile. This done, you see our Forlorne hope, and our Harquebuziers of the flankes do go forwards out of their places , and our Harquebuziers on horsebacke, and Hargoletiers likewise: and they altogether assault their enemies without keeping any ranke, approaching them most furiously, and with the greatest crye that they can make. The enemies Ordnance hath passed ouer our footmens heads, not hurting them, and to hinder it for shooting the second time, our Forlorne hope, Harquebuziers on horsebacke, and Hargolétiers do runne vpon it, and do all their endeouour to winne it , and the enemies to defend it: so that neither their Ordnance, nor ours may do any more seruice. You see how our horsemen and footmen mingled one with another, do fight valiantly and to good purpose, succouring one another (the practise which they haue had, and the trust that they repose in the Battailons that are at their backes , are causes of it:) which Battailons haue already kist the ground , and march orderly as you see, a good pace, with þ horsemen at their wings, euery ranke of men of armes being one hundred horse. And the light horsemen, who do make as many rankes as they, are vpon the out-side of the men of armes , and are one ranke after another , and do march all very close : marke how our Ordnance is retired into the spaces that are left betwixt the Legions , for to make place for our Battailles , and to leaue them the way free. Do you see how the King his Lieutenant Generall , and the Captaine Generalls of the horsemen and footmen, do go before the Battailons, encouraging the Souldiers to do well, and the Captaines also calling euery man by his name, or by his office, declaring vnto them the victorie to be in their hands, so that they

abide and resist the enemies charge without feare? Do you marke how our Harquebuziers on horsebacke, and our Hargoletiers do open themselves to make place for our battalies, and how the Harquebuziers of the flankes do returne into their places? The Forlozne hope of the right side do returne vnto the right side, and those of the left vnto the left, and do retire without feare or flight, although they haue the enimie at their heeles, and a farre greater number then they are, and how they do returne all at once: to weete, the Forlozne hope of two Legions together toward the one side, and the Forlozne hope of the other two Legions together toward the other side, to put themselves into a newe order, the Pikemen by themselves, and Harquebuziers by themselves: which Pikemen of each two Legions do ranke themselves in eight rankes, and euery ranke is a Squadron of 21. men: for they are all of this number, which is a sufficient number to represent a small Battailon. But these two small Battailons are raunged as you may see behind the Triarics, each of them right behind the space that is betwixt the two Legions, & the Harquebuziers do raunge themselves in troopes by them to defend them behind, while the fronts do fight.

They do also remaine there for to bee imployed when as the Lieutenant Generall should haue occasion to vse them. But whilest I appoynt our Forlozne hope their place at the tayle of our Legions, I do see that the two armies are come together vnto the push of the Pike. Marke how resolutely our Battailons do withstand the violence of the enimie, and with what vertue and silence they do it. The King his Lieutenant Generall commaundeth the men of armes stoutly to resist, but not to assaile, and that they should not seperate themselves from the footmen: and therevpon commaundeth the light horsemen to assaile, and after they haue executed their charge, they should returne againe into their places. On the other part, I see that our Harquebuziers on horsebacke, and the Hargoletiers and Harquebuziers of the right flank, are gone to charge certaine troopes of the enemies Harquebuziers, who would charge our men vpon the flank: and I see that the enemies light horsemen haue succoured their men immediatly, and that at this instant the

the horsemen on both sides are so intermingled, that the Parquebuziers can do no service with their Parquebuzes, but are constrained to retire vnto their people. Whilest this is in hand, two of our Cupdons go to succour our horsemen, and charge the enemy so courageously that they force them to retire: and hauing repulsed them, our light horsemen do afterward returne to their places. Marke how our Parquebuziers on horsebacke and Hargoletiers do trouble the enemies without cease: Do you not see that our Pikemen do fight brauely? Our men and the enemies are so nere together that they can no more vse their Pikes: so that our first rankes of the Hastaries (according vnto our Militarie discipline) do leaue their Pikes and take their Swords and Targets, which they do vse only in thrusting. Herewithall you may see how a great troope of the enemies horsemen haue repulsed our Hargoletiers vpon the left side, who do retire towards the Pikes of the same flank, with whom and the Parquebuziers they turne their faces and do resist their enemies. Do you see how our light horsemen do go to succour them? See how they charge the sayd enemies one band after another. Marke how they breake their Launces: see how they are mingled: behold the murther which the Pikes of the sayd flank do make of the enemies horses, running betwixt our horsemen, who do backe them against the enemies assaults: and our sayd Pikes do also helpe to defend the light horsemen. We hath good lucke that is ouerthrowne, if he escape the footmens hands without death. Do you not see how the enemies men of armes come to assaile our men of armes of the sayd flank, whilest the light horsemen and others are busied o- ther where? Do you see how the Forlozne hope of the two Legions of the same left side of the battaile, do go in great hast to succour our men of armes? But they are somewhat too farre of to come time enough, notwithstanding they make as much hast as possibly they may do, in the same order that they are raunged in. In the meane while the enemy his men of armes do charge ours as much as the horses can runne, but marke well the manner of our men who stand still to receiue them. But as soone as the Captaine generall his Trompet doth sound, they do runne
all

all at once: although the rase be not aboute twentie or thirtle paces. And this they haue done (as I thinke) to resist their enemies the moze forcible. Haue you seene how our men of armes haue with their Launces galled the enemies horses in their breastes and sides: being sure that the enemies could neither hurt their persons nor their horses, because that they are very well armed themselves, and their horses are barbed and garnished with Chamfrings and Criniers, which the enemies do want: which is the cause that you do see so many of the enemies slaine, and so fewe of ours. Marke how our men with the force of their horses, and with the thrustes of their swords do repulse their enemies, killing their horses as long as they may, & laying on vpon the men at all places where they may finde them vnarmed. The mase doth his office there also, and the Captaine Generall of the horsemen doth commaund the men of armes to keepe themselves firme together, and not to breake their ranks, or to suffer their enemies to enter within them by any meanes. Wherevpon the pikemen of the Forlozne hope do ariue, & the men of armes seeing them ariued, do make way for them to passe through the midst of their ranks, and the pikes al at once do fall in amongst the enemies, and the men of armes likewise vpon their flanks, and do charge altogether, and the Harquebuziers do go towards the flankes to charge. But marke how the Lieutenant Generall doth send a companie of men of armes to charge the flank of that Battailon, that maketh theemie his left corner, and he himselfe is sodainly lighted a foote, and with those that do followe his Coznet, doth giue a sight vnto one of the corners of the said Battailon, who conducteth our footmen ill in that poynt. Do you see how he maketh them to giue way, and how our men do begin to take heart, and do charge them so rigorously that they do repulse them? This done, the Lieutenant Generall doth mount on horsebacke againe, and his men also: and seeing certaine companies of the enemies horsemen, which went to charge vpon the backes of our Battailles to put them in disorder, hath commaunded the Hargoletiers, and Harquebuziers on horsebacke, and part of the Harquebuziers of his side, to go speedilie toward them to resist them, and doth send the light horsemen after

ter them. Do you not see how our Harquebuziers on horseback and Harquoletiers haue slayed them, and how they fight together in skirmish? But the enemies seeing our light horsemen comming, and Harquebuziers at their tailes, do runne away as fast as they can gallop. But let vs looke no more vpon that which is done on the sides, but let vs behold the Battailons, who do fight so nere together, that their ranks are almost one vpon anothers necke: so that their Souldiers can very hardly vse their swords, but are constrained for the most part to fight with their daggers. Marke how the enemies are murdered, and fall by heapes, who haue nothing but pikes and swords, which at this instant do them no seruice, specially the pikes, because of the preece and their great length, and although that the sword be not altogether vnseruiceable in a preece, yet is it of little value: for that the sayd enemies are ill armed vpon their bodies, and haue no Target or other thing to couer them from the thrustes that our men do giue them in the faces, thighs, legges, feete, and other places vnarmed, they do therefore fall dead and maynied on euery side as you do see. Now may you see the enemies vpon the right point to shrink, also I do see manifestly that they do fall one vpon another, and that the tayle doth flye. Behold how those vpon the left point do the like, and those in the midst also. Do you see how the Lieutenant doth send after them all the horsemen that are vpon his side, except two hundred men of armes, who do raunge themselves againe in their first order, like vnto the Forlorne hope: the Pikes and Harquebuziers of the flankes do also put forth themselves to followe the victorie, to giue them no leisure to ioyne together againe, and the foure Legions do raunge themselves in all points as they were before the combate: and after that the pikemen who threw downe their Pikes to vse their Targets, haue taken them vp againe and amended their ranks, they march a good pace after those that pursue the victorie, vntill that they do see that the enemies haue no meane left to defend themselves, but that they do all flee, who best can best may, scattered like partridges. I do thinke that the retreat will sound immediatly, if it do please the Lieutenant Generall to thinke it time. We haue gotten the victorie,

cozie, and happely overcome the Battaille, not hauing been occasioned to make the Halberdiers of the Hastaries to fight, but only the first eight rankes of pikes : neither haue we been inforced to retire the Hastaries within the Princes, nor to make the Triaries to feele of the warres : for the Hastaries haue been strong enough of themselves to abide the enemy his forces, and to overcome them. Wherefore there resteth no more to be spoken in this matter, but to shewe the reasons that made me to range these Battailles in the manner aforesayd, and what moued me to order the things that are happened in this Battaille, as I haue ordered them : which I will do aswell and as briefly as possible I may.

The Authour yeeldeth a reason for every thing that was done, both before the beginning of the battaille, & after.

The 13. Chapter.



Do giue a reason why I made our Ordnance to discharge but once, and why I caused it immediately to bee retired betwixt the Battailles, and what hath been the occasion that I haue made no mention of it since, and likewise why I sayd that the enemies had shot too high : for it should seeme that I had layd the Ordnance at mine own pleasure, to make it to shote high or lowe as I would my selfe. As concerning the first poynt, I say that all men ought to haue a more regard to defend themselves from the enemy his shot (and that it is a thing of more importance) then to offend them with theirs. For if so be you would that your Ordnance should shote more then once, of force your enemies must haue as great leisure to discharge against your battailles, as you haue to discharge against theirs : which cannot be without the hassarding of your people, vnto the daunger of the sayd Ordnance, which may do you many great damages before you come to handie strokes. Wherefore it is better that your Ordnance should cease his effect, then that in vsing of it your enemies Ordnance should weaken you, in killing your good Souldiers : for you must take heed

heed of the blowes that do come farre of, being assured þt through the good order that your men are in, so that your rankes may aborde the enemye, you shall easilie obtaine the victorie, for that your people are better practised, raunged, and armed then your enemies are. So that you ought to haue care of nothing so much as to bring your Souldiers to encounter with your enemies their rankes being whole. And for to keepe you from being indamaged with your enemies Ordnance, it would bee necessarie that you should bee in such a place whereas it might not offend you, or behind a wall or a rampar: for there is nothing else that might saue you. Yet to bee well assured, it were necessarie that they should bee very strong: but forasmuch as Captaines that wil giue battailes may not be couered with walls and rampars, nor likewise put themselues into places where Ordnance may hurt them: it must be therfore of necessitie, that sith they cannot finde a meane to wholly assure themselues, that at the least they do finde some one meane which may saue them from being too much indamaged. And the best remedie that I do see herein, is that that I am about to tell you, which is presently to seeke to hinder the vse of the sayd Ordnance, by assailing it speedilie without keeping order, & not slowlie or in trope: for by meanes of the diligence that you vse herein, you shall giue them no leisure to double their shot. And for that your men are scattered, it shall hit the fewer when it doth shoot: and you knowe that a band being in order may not do this, because that if it should march in so great hast as it were necessarie it should do, it is certaine that the rankes would put themselues into disorder. And if so be that the said band should be spred wide, the enemye might breake it easilie, because the rankes are broken of themselues without vsing any other force vnto them. To withstand which perill, I haue ordered this armie after that manner that it may do both without danger: to wete, the Forlorne hope & the Harquebuziers of the flankes, who with the Vargoletiers and Harquebuziers on horseback, are appoynted expressely for to charge vpon the enemies Ordnance, and to hinder the vse of it: which cannot be done if that the Ordnance should shoot alwaies, for the reasons that I haue aboue alleadged: which is, that you cannot
haue

haue that leifure your felfe, and take it away from others. It followeth then, that to make the Ordnance to bee of no value, there is no other remedie but to affault it speedilie. And if you can enforce the enemies to abandon it, then you may vse it your felfe, and although they would hinder you from the vſing of it, yet they muſt leaue it behind them: ſo that being iniured by you or troubled by them, it ſhall remaine vnſeruicceable. I conclude then, that if you will defend your battailes from the Ordnance, you haue no other remedie but to ſurpriſe it with the greateſt ſpeede that may bee poſſible. As concerning that poynt that it might ſeeme that I had guided the enemies Ordnance at my pleaſure, making the ſhot to flye ouer our footmen, I aunſwere, that great Ordnance doth oftner miſſe footmen, then touch them; for that the ſayd footmen are ſo lowe, and the Ordnance is ſo troubleſome to bee vſed, that how little ſoener it bee rayſed, the ſhot doth flye ouer their heads: and if it be layd a little too lowe, the ſhot lieth vpon the ground, ſo that it commeth not amongſt them. If the ground wherein they are raunged bee any thing bowing, it ſaueth them alſo, but if the place were plain, I would put the horſemen behind the battailes, chiefly the men of armes and the light horſemen, vntill ſuch time as the Ordnance were vnſeruicceable: for by meanes of their height and cloſe raunging, for that they are raunged cloſer then the Hargoletiers, or Harquebuziers on horſebacke, they may be ſoner hit then footmen. One thing there is, the enemies ſmall ſhot may greatly annoy vs, but we haue it aſwel as they. But to auoyd the worſt, there is no better remedie then to come to the combate, although that at the firſt affault there are alwaies ſome ſlaine, as ſome alwaies muſt dye at the firſt encounter, yet the perticular daunger is not ſo much to be feared as the generall: for that the loſſe of five hundred or a thouſand men cannot bee ſo damageable, but that the loſſe of a greater troope would be more, except the loſſe ſhould fall vpon ſome of the Chieſes, and yet in ſuch a caſe wee muſt not bee too much amaſed, nor accompt the battaile to be loſt: for that for the default of one principall Chiefe there are ſo many other Chieſes diſtributed and raunged in ſo good order, that the loſſe of one perticular Chiefe could
not

not be mist so much as a man woulde thinke it shoulde be. But this busines cannot bee done with out perill, and all being well waied our maner is the least venterous that may, be so that you doe beginne betimes to foresee that your enemies do not hurt you as farre of, for therein doeth the greatest daunger lie: for as for hand blowes they may be auoided with lesse danger, by means of armes, and good order, then those that come from farre, as shot which nothing can resist, against the which we must vse the Switzers custome, who bowing downe their heads doe runne and assaile the Ordnance wheresoeuer it bee placed, as I haue heard say they haue done manie times, but specially at the battaile of Marignan, and they doe not refuse battaile at anie time against any man whosoever he be, for any doubt that they haue of the ordnance: but haue a law amongst themselves to put them to death, that shoulde goe out of their ranks, or shoulde make any shew to be asfayd of it. I haue caused our Ordnance to be retyred vnto the taile of our battailes after that it had once discharged, which I haue done to the intent that our Battailons might haue the way free before them. And the cause why I made no mention of it since, was because I thought it to bee inseruiceable when the troupes were at it, hande to hande. I must heere replie in this place vnto certaine people, who iudge the Harnis that we do vse, and the auncient order in ranging of a battaile to be vnprofitable, hauing respect vnto the violence of this instrument: for it shoulde seeme by their wordes, that the men of warre of the time present haue found some better order, & that they wold haue men to be slain or hurt at their pleasures. Of those, you shall fynd but few in mine opinion, but they had rather to shew their heeles vnto their enemies then to receyue hurt. For wherefore is it that they doe blame harnes, sith that being naked they are subiect to blowes, but to the intent rather to flie then to be hurte; and to abandon their Prince at his most need? I wold but vnderstand why the Switzers & the Almaignes do make Battails of 1000. & 15000. men all in one peece, after the auntient manner: and for what occasion all the other nations haue imitated them, sith that this forme of battaile is subiect vnto the same perill of the Ordnance, that the others

that are rainged after the auncient manner, are subiect vnto. A beleeue they knowe not how to answer this point, but who so should aske any Souldiour of meane iudgement, hee would answer, that those that would not carrie Harnes, are ill counsailed: for although that Harnes be too weake to resist ordnance or Harquebushes; notwithstanding, it dooth defend a man from the stroke, of Pike, Halbard, and Sword, Crosse-bowe, Long-bowe, and from Stones, and from all other hurt, that may proceede from the enemies hande, and sometimes a Harquebuze may bee so ill charged, or so hotte, or may bee shotte so farre of, that a Harnes if it be good, may saue a mans life. The said souldiour would also answer vnto this other demaund, that men of warre doe goe so close together, as wee see they doe: and as the said Switzers and Almaines doe, the better to resist horsemen, and to giue their enemies the more trouble to break them: so that we see that souldiers haue many things to feare besides ordnance, from all which, they may be defended, by the meanes of armes, and good order: wherof insueth, that the better that an armie is armed, and the better that the ranks are closed, so much the better it is assured: so that whosoever is of the opinion aboue said, is skant wise, or his conceit is not great in this matter.

Wherefore, sith we see that the least peece of armes which they vsed in times past, (which we now vse, is the Pike) and the least part of their orders, (which are the Battailions of the Switzers) doe vs so much good, and giue so great a force vnto our armies, why should we not beleeue that the other armes, & orders which they vsed should not be profitable? so that if we haue a care to defend our selues from ordnance, placing our men close & ioint together, as the Switzers & Almaines doe, we need not doubt any other thing: as in truely we ought to feare no order of Battaille so much as that wherein the souldiours are kept close and ioint together. Furthermore, if the ordnanee do not dismay vs in placing of a siege before an enemies towne, which may annoy vs with a more certaintye, & which we cannot attaine vnto, because of the walles which doe defendit, neither is it possible in short time to take away the defence of it with our ordnanee, but that they may redouble their shot with ease: why then should we be afraid of it in the field where it may be won incontinent?

To be breefe I rest vpon this, that the Ordnance may not any waye hinder the Souldiers of the time present, to vse the auncient maners almost as well as if there were none at all. And am also of opinion, that wee ought not to leaue our bodies vnarmed, although that Harnesse cannot defend vs from Ordnance: for (as I haue shewed) wee are subiect vnto many other more daungers then to bee hit with a shot of great Ordnance. To proceede, I am well assured that it will seeme that I haue ranged this Battaille, and wonne the victorie at mine owne pleasure: notwithstanding I repley heare vnto, that it is impossible, but that an armie ordered as I haue spoken of, should ouercome at the first encounter all other Hostes, that should be ordered as the armies are at this present: for the Battailons that are framed at these dayes, haue neuer but two or threer ranks armed in the fronte, wherein the Chieffes and all the valiantest men are imployed, not making any great account of the rest. So that if these two or threer ranks were ouerthrowne, the other would make but small defense.

Likewise the Battailons of our time haue no Targets, and very few Halbards or none, or if they haue any, they keepe them onely for the defence of their Ensignes, and not for to breake into their enemies. Moreover they are vnarmed, and therefore being at hande strokes with those that are surely armed, and haue also a Target, they will easely kill them, and so likewise will the Halbardiers do. In sum, our said Souldiers doe range themselves at this day to their disadvantage, after one of these two maners: that is, eyther they range their Battailles of two great a breadth, and place them one at the flanke of another, to make the front to be so much the larger: & in so doing the Battailles are too thin, and therefore are in danger to be entered with little difficulcie, or they place them one behinde another, wherein if they haue not the cunning to retire one hand within another, & to be receiued without disorder, you may bee sure that the hoste wilbe easile overcome, & it helpeth not that they do giue it threer names, & deuide it into threer battailles, y is, into Avantgard battaille, & Riergard: for this diuision serueth for no other purpose but to march on the way, & to deuide the quarters for their lodgings.

but for the giuing of Battaille this diuision may giue none advantage, no more then if they were not deuided : for all the hazard of the combate dependeth vpon one of these three battailes, whosoever it is that shall fight first, and according vnto the fortune that that one hath, the other two doe gouerne themselves: for if it bee ouerthrowne, the other two are dismaide, and leese their hope of well dooing, and perhaps they shalbe brought into disorder by those that flie, rettying vnto them to be saued. And if so be that the Battaille which is first assaulted do repulse their enemies that did charge them: yet is it but one part of the enemye that is ouerthrowne, for that the rest continue in their intire: so that it is to begin againe, as also it is to be doubted, that if those that haue overcome their enemies, should follow them any thing, that they should bee inclosed by their other Battailles in the sight of their freends. But to proceed in our business, you haue seene before, how our Hargoliers and Harquebussiers a Horsebacke on the left side of our Battailons were repulsed by the enemies Horsemen, and how that they rettyed vnto the Pikes of the same flanke. I say vnto you that I haue caused it to be so handled, to shewe wherein the Pikes of the flankes may be imployed, who are not onely appointed alwaies to keepe the sides of the Battailons, but may serue for more turnes then one.

Likewise I haue made the men of armes to fight after that manner that I would that they should fight, without breaking their order, and that they should not bestowe their labour vpon men heauie laden with harnes, for that would be time lost: but the surest way is to bend at the Horses, who so will haue the men at their commaundement. And as concerning that I made them to stafe at the meeting, is, for that I doe thinke it to be much better then to charge running, aswell for to continue them in good order, as to keepe their Horses in breath, & for to haue them to be fresh at the combate. True it is I haue made them to runne all at one time, and that was because that they should resist their enemies the better: yet it is verpe harde for Horsemen to keepe their rankes how little soeuer they Horses doe runne, for that Horses are some swifter then other some: therefore

therefore there is lesse daunger for them to keepe themselves firme, not seperating themselves, then there is in being too forward. Our men of armes at *Rauenna* did vse the same order: and did easely ouerthrow the men of armes of *Spayne*. Moreover I haue caused the Forlorne hope, to put forth themselves to succour the men of armes, to the intent you should know the seruice that this order of forlorne hope might doe, who after that they haue begune the battaile, doe range themselves in good order either behinde or vpon the flankes; to serue for Subsidies, vntill such time as they may finde some occasion to anoye their enemies. In the meane while the Harquebusiers a horsebacke, are alwaies seeking to endamage their enemies. But to tel you the reason what moued me to make the Kinges Lieutenant generall to light a foote; you must vnderstand that in times past the Captaines Generalls of Hosts did giue order themselves through out all the armie, whether it were to range the Battailles, to giue the signes: to beginne the combat; or to sende the Subsidies one into anothers place, and in some all that was done from the first vnto the last, was gouerned by their commaundement, and hereof I can aleadge a number of examples. And yet this was not all, but if their people were at any parte distressed they succoured them speedelie, and lighted a foote when it was needefull, or fought a horsebacke when as they might doe it: which was cause that their battailles were better fought then ours are now, forasmuch as the Chieffes left no little peece of their office vndon, were it in playing the Chiefe or the Souldier. But these that are at this present doe thinke to doe no more after that the Battaille is once begunne then a simple valiant Souldier ought to doe: where as it is the parte of a good Chiefe to ouerlooke on euerie side what the enemies do against his people, to the intent to remedie all inconuences & to be carefull that his people receiue no damage through his default, where in it were necessarie that hee should employe anie of his Souldiers, and sometimes his owne person: yet this ought to be done as seldome as maybe possible: or if that he did fight it shoulde bee at an extremitie as our Captaine Generall did, who lighted to relieue a Bataillon that his enemies oppres-

sed: and to resist the enemies force the more surer, you haue seene that one bande of men of armes did goe to charge the enemies byon the flanke, and the other bandes in the meane while haue turned their faces vnto the enemies horsemen, making shew to assaile hem to trouble them from going to succour their footemen, and when hee had relieued the sayde Bataillon hee leapt a horsebacke immediatlie. And so likewise woulde I haue our Chiefe to doe, who ought to determine neuer to fight except hee were forced there vnto, but shoulde leaue that charge vnto them that haue no bodie to gouerne, but their owne persones, or perticular bands, or that are not of that qualitie that a Lieutenant generall is. And in so doing he can no waies be reproched that he hath not vertuously acquitted himself of his charge although that he lay not to his hands: for it is to be thought that he aspired not vnto that estate but throug his vertues, and that he hath before sufficiently prooued himselfe to bee a valiant, and hardie man: and therefore a Lieutenant generall ought not to be reputed for a coward although he fight not. And when all is saide there may more mischief happen in playing the hardie man then in playing the coward: as many ancient histories doe make mention, as of Fabius the coward and Mutius the hardie, and of manie others, specially of Monsieur de Foix, who was slaine throug his too much hardienes, whose death was more hurtfull vnto the French-men then the victorie that he got was profitable.

But let vs proceed and not stay at that which is too manifest: and let vs speake somewhat of the forme of our Poasse: as for to speake of the rest that happened at the ende of the combat woulde be superfluous, sith I haue ipoken already both in the beginning of the battaile and before, of the causes that doe giue our men the aduantage, and the victorie, after that they doe come vnto the sight of the Sworde. I haue likewise taken the one halfe of our horsemen from our Bataillons, to succour those that haue the enemies in chase, if peraduenture any ambushe shoulde charge them, or that the sypars woulde put themselves againe to defence, & shoulde repulse them. And as concerning that I haue kept the rest of our men of armes, and caused them and the bat-

tailons

tailons to bee brought againe into their order, it was to this in-
 tent to haue alwaies the greatest strength of mine hoaste ready
 to fight if so bee that the enemies shoulde ioyne together againe.
 or that freshe people shoulde come vpon them: for the not-doing
 of it, hath oftentimes happened vnluckely vnto diuers Chieffes:
 as vnto *Coradin* in *Naples* in y^e yeare 1268. who thought that
 he had won the victorie against *Charles* the King of y^e countrie,
 because he sawe that no man made any longer resistance: but the
 said *Charles* coming out of an ambush with freshe men, char-
 ged the others that were busie in killing and stripping of his men
 and ouerthrew them, and the said *Coradin* also. It might seeme
 that I had not ranged our Battailons well, forasmuch as I
 haue placed fve bands in the front there in the midst, and two at
 the taylor: for we might thinke that it were better to order them
 otherwise: because that a Bataillon is woost to breake when
 he that doth assaulte it doth finde it the stronger the further that
 he doeth enter into it, and it shoulde seeme that the manner that
 I haue framed shoulde be alwaies the weaker the deeper it is en-
 tred into, although that I doe knowe that the Romanes did
 appointe but 600. men in their thirde battaile which are the Tri-
 aries, yet I haue put two bands into the saide battaile, each of
 which bands hath 425. men, which are 850. in all, besides the
 Captaines and other members, and those of the flanks. Where-
 fore in following the Romanes, I doe rather sayle in taking
 too many men then to few: & although that in imitating so good
 a forme as theirs is I do nether thinke to sayle nor to be repro-
 ued, yet wil I giue a reason for it. You do vnderstand y^e the front
 of euerie square Battailon ought to be made sure and thicke, be-
 cause it must withstande the first assaulte of the enemies, and so
 ought likewise the midst, & the taile, except that they be ranged
 after the maner that I haue ranged these here spoken of. But to
 order the midst, and the taile in such sorte, y^e the one may receiue
 the other within their ranks, it is necessary y^e the second which
 are y^e Princes, should be a great many fewer in number then y^e
 first which are the Hastaries. And for this cause I haue put in e-
 uerie ranke of Hastaries 105. men, and in euerie ranke of Prin-
 ces there is but 63. men, which are 42. lesse in euerie ranke.

Furthermoze, I haue appoynted the groundes that the saide Princes should occupie in length, to bee the one halfe longer then that which the Hastaries doe occupie : to the intent that the rankes and spaces that the Princes doe occupie, might receiue the Hastaries, when as they should retyze vnto them. The rankes of the Triaries are thinner, for they are but 42. men in a ranke, and the place that they doe occupie in length is twise as long as y^e the Hastaries doe occupie: because that this last Battaille should receiue into it the Battailles aforesayde. Now for that it might be sayd that how much further the enemye dooth enter in, that so much the weaker hee shall finde the Battailons, because that the Battailles (as I haue sayd) are diminished of people, and their rankes thinner and thinner. It must be vnderstood, that in keeping of this order, an enemye can neuer fight with the Princes, vntill hee hath first ouerthrowne the Hastaries, who by our discipline ought not to stape vntill they were quite ouerthrowne. So that when as they should finde the enemies so strong, that it were not in their power to make resistance: I say that then the Colonell of the said Battailon ought to commaund his Trumpet to sound to this effect; that the King dooth commaund the Hastaries, to retyze within the Princes: which sound being heard, the Hastaries shall retire (but not before) easilye, not turning their faces from their enemies: and to the intent that this retreat may be made without disorder, the last ranke of the Hastaries shall first retyze, then those next them, and the others following. All which rankes shall range themselves betwixt the rankes of the Princes, the last ranke of the Hastaries, with the last ranke of the Princes, and so consequentely the other rankes shall range themselves with the other rankes their like. And for that the rankes of the Princes should not bee too thicke, I meane that those that might place themselves in their rankes should do so, and that the others shall range themselves betwixt their ranks and make new ranks: for they shall haue place ynough to doe it in the length that the Princes doe occupie.

If then the first doe range themselves with the second, and that of these two Battailles there is made but one: is this, to
finde

finde the Battailles, the further that they are entred into the weaker : for you see that the enemies cannot fight with the second Battaille, but the first must bee toynd with it, so that an enemye shall alwayes finde the middest of the Battailon stronger then the front, and not weaker, forasmuch as they shall now haue to deale with eight bandes, whereas before they had to doe but with five. And so likewise if this second Battaille be forced to retire vnto the third, for an enemye shall not onely deale with fresh men, but with all the Legion together, for that this last Battaille of the Triaries must receiue the Hastaries and the Princes. And for this cause they must be ranged thinner and of greater length then the second Battaille was : and therefore I haue made the rankes but of 42. men, and their place in length twice as long as the Hastaries, to receiue the first and the second the more easier betwixt them. And if this space seeme to be too little to receiue the eight bands, vnderstand that the rankes being in their first order, do occupie much more place then when they are retired : because that the rankes do shrink together or open when they are too much pressed. I meane that they will open themselves when as they will runne awaye, and when they will tary by it, they will close themselves together, to the intent not to bee opened or entered hastilye. Moreover if it be so that the enemies doe come vnto the Triaries, it must be thought that there are a great many slaine and ouerthrowne : and therefore there needeth not so great place for the two first Battailles as if they had remained in their intier. Furthermore I suppose that our said Triaries will haue a good will to defend themselves, and the others that are rettyred vnto them also, and therefore they will occupie lesse place : and at the vttermost the place is great inough to receiue the ten bands altogether ; besides that they haue the backe and wings at their commaundement. I must heare declare one other thing, that is, for what intent I caused the Forlorne hope, the Harquebusiers a Horsebacke, and the Hargoletiers to depart with so great a crye when they went to assault their enemies : and also whye I made so great silence to bee kept when our Battailons approached the sayd enemies ; for it is to the matter

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to know the causes of these two varieties, wherof many ancient Captaines haue had diuers opinions: to wit, whether they should hasten them in making great noyse, or marche easilpe without speaking worde: although that this last maner serueth better to keepe order moze firme, and to vnderstand the commaundements of the Chieffes, and the first serueth to kindle and heate the hearts of Souldiers. Notwithstanding I doe thinke that we must haue a regard vnto both these things, and that it is the necessary that y one should make as great a noyse as they might, and that the other shoulde bee as silent as might be possible: for I doe not thinke that to crie continually should be done to good purpose, my meaning is that Chieffes shoulde be vnderstoode. And for to begin a battaile without crie is a token of feare, for commonlie the voice serueth for an index of the effect of the battaile, whereby they may hope the victorie, or mistrust the obtaining of it. So that I thinke that it is good that a battail shoulde beginne with great cries, I meane onelke at the first assault, and not after the Battailon are neare approached: for wee may see in þ Romane Cronicles that Souldiers which were flying haue many times carried through the words and comfortes of the Chieffes, and haue immediately changed their order, which could not haue bin doone, if the noyse had bin lowder then the voices of the said Chieffes: or if that the crie had alwaies continued.

Touching the hastie proceeding in the beginning of the Battaille I haue shewed in what manner wee ought to beginne it. Concerning the Battailons it is necessary that they should assault with great haste, specially if the Ordnance doe much indomage them, and sometimes it will be good that they should attend the coming of an enemy: to wit when as the place is vnfit, or that they might breake off themselves not being verie skilfull souldiers. Now I doe thinke that I may passe further forward hauing acquitted my selfe reasonably well here before of my promise in shewing the reasons why I ranged the battailons, and gaue battaile after that mann r that you haue seene, & take in hand to speake of the other poynts which are no lesse necessary then those aboue spoken of, which I will doe after that

I haue receyted that our Legions must oftentimes bee exercised and brought together, and ranged after the manner aboue said, that aswell the Souldiers, as the officers, Members and Chieffes might know what they ought to doe. For the Souldiers in euerie bande ought to keepe their rankes well, and the officers, Members, and Chieffes to keepe their rankes in their order, and the bands well ordered; and they should knowe to execute the Captaine Generall his commaundement, and therefore they ought to bee experte to ioyne one bande with another, and to teache the Souldiers to knowe their places readily. And to doe this with little difficultie; the Ensignes must bee marked to knowe who they are, aswell for to bee there by commaunded, as for to bee easely knowne, for if so bee that the Ensignes doe knowe their places and the Souldiers their places, you shal see that a Battailon wil quickly range it self after the manner that it ought to be ranged, as soone as the Trumpet doth sound: & consequently the whole armie as soone as the Lieutenant Generall, shal make signe. And this is the first exercise of foure, that an armie ought to knowe, wherein it ought to be exercised euerie day that it dooeth lie still and many times in one day. Secondly an armie ought to be exercised to marche in battaile, and to keepe their rankes well, going an ordinarie pace, trot, and course. The thirde exercise is that the Battailons should learne what they ought to doe vppon a day of battaile, as to discharge the Ordnance, and to cause it to be retyred, and to put forth the Harquebusiers in the flankes, and to cause them to go forward with the Foxloze hope. And after that the Harquebusiers haue discharged thre or fower shot euerie man, running here and there without order: and although that they doe ioyne with the Pike, and horsemen whome this charge doeth touche, yet they shall retire, vnto the flankes, through the spaces betwixt the Battailons, each to his place: to weet the Harquebusiers of the flankes vnto the flanks, and the Foxloze hope behinde for to range themselves there as I haue said: for if they should carrie before the Battailles, they would hinder the battailons to fight. The Horsemen likewise shall retyre vppon the winges, and the Hastaries must retyre within the Princes as if they

they were forced : and afterwards the Princes and Hastaries, must retye together with in the Triaries : and this done the Hastaries should retourne vnto their first place and the Princes likewise vnto theirs.

The fourth exercise is that euery man shoulde giue himselfe to vnderstande the commaundement of the Chieffes , and the meaning of the sounds of the trumpet, and the strokes of the Drums: by whom shalbe signified al þ should be don in general, that is, when it shall be time for them to put themselves together in battaile, and when they ought to marche, or to skape, to goe forwarde, or to turne their faces towards the one side or the other, to kisse the ground and to fight. Likewise there shall be signified by the sayde Trumpet when it shall be necessarie to discharge the Ordnance, when it shal retire, when the Harquebusiers, Forlorne hope, and others, should goe forwarde, and at what time they should doe it : & also at what time the Hastaries ought to retire towards the Princes, and afterwards when the two Battailles ought to retye towards the Triaries, and finally when it shall be time that euery man should retye from the Battaille : all which things must be doone by the commaundement of the Lieutenant Generall, and immediatly signified by his Trumpet : his sounding will easlye bee heard by the other Trumpeters that are neereſt him, and so the sounde will goe from one to another, vnto the furthest Trumpet in the Hoaste. Most part of these things may bee signified by signes, without vsing of Trumpets or Drums, and likewise by voice, yet me thinkes that the sounde of the Trumpet is the most sureſt, because that euery man cannot see a signe, but they may easlye heare a sound, a voice sometimes may be misundersſtood, where in there must bee good heede taken : for many times the commaundements of the Captaines being ill vnderſtood, or ill interpreted, haue brought the hoasts that were vnder their charge to an ill ende. Wherefore the voices or soundes which are so vsed in commaunding, in places of great daunger, ought to bee cleare and sharpe : and bothe the soundes of the Trumpet and strokes of the Drum, ought in themselves to be so differing the one sounde from the other, and the one stroke from the other,

that

that the Souldiers should not be deceiued in taking one thing for an other. And if so be that the Generall would commaund with voice, he must auoide those voices that may be doubly vnderstood, and must vse perticular voices: and yet he ought not to vse perticular voices, except they bee expresselye inuented for one onely thing, least y they might be misunderstood: for that a voice cannot alwayes be well vnderstood because of the noyse of the armes, for the neighing of Horses, for the noise that the Ordnance dooth make, and for the sound of the Drum. On the other side a Chiefe may not alwaies helpe himselfe with signes in this case, because that darke weather, mist, or raine, or the sunne in mens faces doe trouble and hinder their sight, and likewise the changing of places if the ground be any thing bowing or couered with trees: besides it is almost impossible to finde an expresse signe for euery thing, specially for that there may oftentimes happen new matters, wherewith the Souldiers had neuer before bene acquainted: therefore wee must haue recourse vnto Trumpets as I haue sayde, and notwithstanding both signes and voices may be vsed in time and place. It would not be amisse if wee did vse at this present a Cornet, or Hunters Hoyme for a retreat, and a Trumpet to begin the Combate or otherwise: for it is a hard matter that Trumpeters should make so many things to be vnderstood by one onely Instrument, considering also that the sounding of a retreat, is somewhat like vnto the sounding to the standard, so that when a man is troubled, and as it were besides himselfe, it is much for him to discern which of the two it is that the Trumpet soundeth.

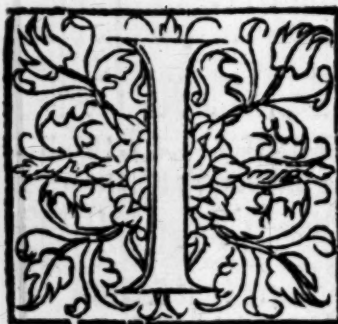
The end of the first Booke.



The second Booke of Militarie *Discipline.*

How a Generall may range his Battailes after diuers manners, vnto his aduantage, with certaine policies which may doe him seruice when as he shall be at the poynt to fight with his enemies,

The 10. Chapter.



Let the first booke hath bin shewed how to leaue & practise a great number of Souldiers together, of whom we might haue seruice when as it should be the King his good pleasure that a Leauie of people should bee made in this realme, according vnto the patterne giuen in the same booke, or after any other example: wherein hath bin so far proceeded that an Host hath bin assembled and ranged in battaile, and finally brought vnto the combat against their enemies & haue so wel behaved themselves, by the meanes of their good ordering, and discipline, that they haue gotten the victorie. There resteth now to speake of other things which an Host ought to know at their fingers end, that is after what manner they may alwaies haue the aduantage of the wars on their sides, and finally continue victorious in al poyntes: which is the thing that they all doe pretend that busie themselves to make warres against others. To attaine wherevnto there is no better meanes

meanes then to giue the foresaide Souldiers, a good Generall
Chiefe : who are so well instructed that they need nothing else
but good conducte . Which Chiefe must haue had great experi-
ence in the warres and must perfectlie vnderstand all the ad-
uantages that may be had in the exercise of the same: for with-
out that, he deserueth not this charge, neither can he at anie time
doe anie thing ought woorth. But if he haue had this experience
and besides that bee a man of vertue, hee may then be trusted,
because it is most certaine that hee will leese nothing through
negligence, nor hazard any thing wilfullie, but doe all in good
time : and to the intent he may the better acquit himselfe in his
charge, I haue taken in hand following my pretence, to register
in writting those thinges that I haue found heere and there a-
mongst good authoys necessarie for the office of a Captaine
Generall, and haue therevnto added certaine things of mine
owne, least I should bee altogether found naked, if perhaps the
sayd authoys should come to the knowledge of their workes and
take them away : which is a thing easie ynough to be doone,
sith that almost in all places, I doe nothing else but translate
the Latin and Italian worde for worde : and haue gathered to-
gether all the cheefest pointes that I haue found written for
this science, whereof I haue made certaine Chapters in forme
of aduertisements : which shall stand instead of remembrances,
which may one daye happen to doe him some seruice, that
might haue the like authoritie, if it were but to put him in mind
of that he hath forgotten through discontinuance, or that some-
times his other businesse appertinent vnto his charge might
trouble him from looking into the depth of these matters. So
that if anye thing should happen vpon the sudden, or whilst he
is so occupied, it would bee a great comfort for him to finde im-
mediatlye a meane to helpe it, and that remedie which the anci-
ent Chieffes haue vsed in like cases. And although there may
fall out inconueniences not heard of, & of which there might bee
no mention made neither in their bookes nor in mine : yet is
it so, that the most common, and those which haue happened
very few wanting, are heerein contained, and the remedies also,
and at the vttermost, the souldiours are compounded of so good
stuffe

*Principale p^{te}
of a Generall*

stufte, and so well practised, that if hee haue any good witte of him selfe, hee may easily finde newe remedies for newe accidents.

Moreouer I do not see that it were greatly requisit to speake of the good qualities that a Lieutenant Generall ought to haue in himselfe, sith that the King doeth so well knowe men that hee createth none but he hath in him all that a Chiefe ought to haue of the greater parte. But yet not to leaue this point altogether vnspoken of, and so in order briefly to treat of the other thinges which he ought to know, I will name a Lord in Fraunce (with out going further) in considering and beholding of whose diuine conditions, wee may see clearely all those tokens to bee in him that ought to bee in a perfect Lieutenant Generall: in so much, that who so would gouern an Host, ought to take example of none but of him: for in my iudgement, he is such a one as he ought to be, and this I may affirme, not deseruing to be called a flatterer, hauing the truth and opinion of those that are of vnderstanding on my side. It is the Lord Constable whome I doe speake of, vpon whom God hath bestowed so many graces, as that hee is an excellent man of warre, in time of warre, and none more readie to maintaine peace then hee: Insomuch that me thinke, I neuer saw any man, that could so wel fashion him selfe vnto both those times as he dooth, and doth addict himselfe no more vnto the one, then vnto the other, whereby wee see that hee respecteth himselfe indifferently. And therefore God made him to bee such a one as wee ought to haue, for to exercise the estate that the king hath giuen him, as it ought to be exercised. For hee knoweth how to make warres, for to haue peace, and to maintaine peace, for the auoyding of warres: so that hee fauoureth not the one, more then then the other, albeit that hee haue both in his handes, and that the Realme dooth depende whollie vpon him, because of his vertue, for that hee is accompanied with all the qualities necessary for the handling of both those times. But let vs leaue the peace alone, hath hee not in hym all that appertaineth vnto a good Lieutenante Generall, if it shoulde bee requisite to make Warres:

of Militarie Discipline.

113

Is he not sprung of noble parentage, to winne the good wills of
Souldiers, (if so be the Nobilitie of bloud may do any thing?)
Is he not rich, and of great abilitie, to winne mens hearts by
gifts, and by maintayning great state? Is he not modest, sober,
painfull, wise, politicke, liberall, of good age, affable, wel spoken,
a man of reputation and of renowne? Yes verely. Are not these
the principall conditions that a Generall ought to haue, as to be
temperate, to the intent that pleasures do not disorder him, nor
hinder from following the affaires of importance that are vnder
his hand; sober, to haue his wittes at libertie to vnderstand hard
matters, for a man that giueth himselfe to liue delicately, and to
eate and drinke too much, doth dull and burie his vnderstan-
ding, that he shall want it when he hath need of it; painfull, for
asmuch as it is necessarie that of all men he should bee the least
wearie of taking paines, and be the first that waketh, and the last
that sleepeth; wise, and of condition to discourse all his busines
in himselfe, to the intent to foresee, vnderstand, or inuent a poli-
cie; liberall, for by that meanes he shall make of his enemies his
friends; of straungers vnknowne, his familiars; the best about
him will amend themselves, if they do see that he doth vse libe-
ralitie towards those that do good seruice, and so will the least
valiant also, which he shall not bring to passe if he were coue-
tous and sparing: but also it would be feared least he should bee
ouercome with couetousnes, and so become corrupt and disloy-
all vnto the King; of good age, that is to say, neither young nor
old: for that the one will beleue no bodie but himselfe, and will
be too bold; and the other is too weake, and fearefull in the execu-
tions of armes; affable, for there is nothing to be moze disliked
in a Chief, nor that maketh him to be moze hated of euery man,
then when as he is troublesome or straunge to bee spoken vnto:
on the contrarie, there is nothing moze commendable in him,
then to be gentle and affable vnto all men: I do meane that this
affabilitie and gentlenes should be moderated, and measured ac-
cording vnto mens worthines, for he must shewe a moze fami-
liaritie vnto one, then vnto another, and yet he should giue all
men contentment if it were possible; well speaking, to the intent
that he might perswade his Souldiers through fayre words, to

W.

make

*Noble Birth
necessary in
a Generall.*

*fat p. 1000
mak. 1000 p. 1000*

*Sustaining & abstinence
necessary for
a Commander.*

*Sobriety of life
wid. Profrondius
sh. 1000 p. 1000
mag. 1000 p. 1000*

*Commanding
ag. 1000 p. 1000
1000 p. 1000
1000 p. 1000
1000 p. 1000*

*A Generall
should make
difference of
men in gold
1000 p. 1000*

*Eloquence
necessary
in a Generall
1000 p. 1000*

*reputation
worthy.*

make but little accompt of daungers, for to attaine vnto great matters, and to winne all those vnto him that shall heare him speake, to be a man of reputation, and well spoken of. For that if he were not so, his Souldiers would obey him at their pleasure, euery man would find it straunge to obey him & is thought to be worse then himselfe, or to be as little worth. It might also bee requisite that he should haue children, for they would bee an assurance vnto the realme, that he would practise nothing against it, and if they be little they will serue for pledges, and be as it were a bridle vnto the father to restrayne him from the taking of any thing in hand that might bee hurtfull vnto his countrie, yea although he had determined to do any such thing: yet the affection that he beareth vnto his children wil perswade him from it, who if they were in state to carrie armes, would serue him with counsaile, strength, and diuers other things, more faithfully then others. All which good poynts, are as I haue sayd in the Lord Constable, and many others, which I do leaue to speake of, whereof his deedes haue made proufe in all places where he hath been. Wherefore, he that will make himselfe worthy of the charge of a Lieutenant Generall, ought to imitate him, and to frame his Souldiers to bee such, as those that are spoken of in the first booke. And if he do so in all poynts, the king may boldly commit a good host into his hands, and referre himselfe wholly vnto him for the execution of the same warre, except the concludng of a peace or of a truce with an enemy. For concerning the giuing of a battaile, or refrayning, the marching forward, or staying, the besieging of this towne, or that towne, and in summe, the handling of the warre as it shall seeme good vnto him, the king need not to trouble himselfe; but only to furnish him with things necessarie for the maintenance of an armie: for otherwise if he would conduct the warres being out of the Campe, and a farre of, by Postes and messengers, he should make his Lieutenant to be slow and slacke, in stead of being vigilant and readie, for if he should do any good seruice, he should not carrie away the praise of it so: but that he that counsailed him thereunto would haue the better part. Furthermore, it auaileth nothing except the king himselfe be most expert and skillfull

full in the arte Militarie (as in trueth he is more then I can expresse) if so bee that he would gouerne it, only by the repozte of the estate of his affayres: but no man can vse it better then he that is in the field with the armie, because of a thousand small poynts that must bee narrowly looked into, for many accidents do happen euery houre, without the sight and vnderstanding whereof, it is impossible for him to giue his counsaile, but at all aduentures. And therefore the King should let his Lieutenant handle the warres according vnto his own mind, that the honoz might be his owne if he did well, and the shame also if he behaued himselfe ill: for the one would bee as a spurre to picke him forward, and the other a brydle to restrayne him from doing any thing that he ought not to do. Notwithstanding, the matter is vsed otherwise at this day in many places, for the Captaine Generalls of hostis are appoynted the manner how they ought to gouerne themselves: insomuch that if there bee question to remoue a Campe out of one place into another, or to besiege a place & assault it, or to fight with the enemye, or to do any other good action, they dare scant to do it, before that they haue giuen aduertisment vnto those that haue giuen them the charge of the host. Which manner hath beene borrowed of the Venetians, and therefore their armies are called Campes of safetie, because they seldome or neuer come time enough: for when as their Generalls haue any good oportunitie to fight, or to assault a towne, they loose it, whilest they are constrained to send vnto the Senate for counsaile, & stay for answer, & so the time passeth, and their enemies prouide in the meane time. If the King therefore do permit him that shall be his Lieutenant to vse his own will, he shall bee much better serued then if he do limit vnto him his charge, and the said Lieutenant likewise will not at any time do any thing but to his contentment, if the king do make choyse of a man of the good conditions spokē of before, and the said Lieutenant haue regard vnto that that shall be spoken of after that I haue sayd somewhat of the matter which I left before, which to take in hand againe to proceed further, I pray the reader to remember that which hath bin spoken of before: for it is necessarie for the vnderstanding of that which followeth. For that I do

thinke the manner of raunging of an armie in battaile by me shewed in the first booke, to be better then all the other vled vntill this day, I haue made choyse of it. And although it bee a good and sure manner, notwithstanding we must looke if the auncient men of warre haue not vled some singularitie in this matter, wherewith the Captaine Generall, which may haue charge of these Legions or of other better ordred, may helpe himselfe at this day: and then immediatly we must speake of certaine considerations that he must haue before his eyes at all times before that he do giue battaile, and all vnder one I will speake of the accidents that sometimes do happen in that poynt, and of the remedies that may bee found, for it is a matter of no small importance to haue the gouernment of this busines: for although the combat betwixt two armies cannot continue much longer then two or three houres; yet the repentance of the euill gouernment, is of too long a continuance, and of a merueilous consequence. Note, that of all the manners of raunging of a battaile that may bee vled, there is none more daungerous, then to make the fronts of the Battailons broad: and by that meanes to make the fewer ranks, except you haue a great number of people, and that they likewise bee good Souldiers: for else you must rather make the Battailon thicke, and not too large in front, then of great breadth, and so much the thinner: because that the thickenesse of a Battailon is that which doth resist an enemy and ouerthrowe him: for the number of ranks do serue to amend the foremost ranke, and to come to the combate in their places, and likewise to giue horsemen the more trouble to breake through them. And if the generall Chiefe haue too small a number in comparison of his enemies, then must he seeke to bring his armie into some place which may be inuironed on some side, either with riuer, or marish, or other place naturally strong, and there range it in battaile, hauing a regard not to bee assaulted on euery side, nor to be inclosed. And if the place were such & none of all these comodities might be found, he must then make trenches vpon the two flankes of his battailes, and behind if he will: and take this for a generall rule, that is, to enlarge or to narrowe the fronts of his Battailons, according vnto the number

of

*ough
is a skout
but vpon
for 1st
Long
vlox consil
vlox malit*

of his people, and according vnto the force of his enemies, ha-
 uing alwaies regard vnto the place that he is in: for in a narrow
 place you must narrowe the rankes, and in an open place not
 enlarge them too much. These Legions may at all times keepe
 one forme, for they haue their rankes so ordered, that they are no
 wider nor narrower then they ought to be; notwithstanding the
 place doth rule all. But let vs put case that the enemies haue a
 lesse number then our Generall hath, he ought then to intice
 them into a large and open ground, to the intent not only to haue
 scope to charge them vpon euery side, but also to stretch out his
 rankes, and order his battailes according vnto our Militarie
 discipline, which is an aduantage that he cannot haue in straighe
 and troublesome places, for that he might not order his people
 vnto his will, nor according vnto their order: whereof the Ro-
 manes in times past were very carefull, and auoyded asmuch
 as they might narrowe & vnfit places, & sought open and large
 places. If so be that this Generall haue too fewe people, or that
 those which he hath were not well practised Souldiers, he must
 do the contrarie: for then he must seeke out those places that are
 fit to preserve a small number in, as mountaines, provided that
 he might find victuals, & not suffer want: for so a strong coun-
 trie might preserve a small number, and he must alwaies make
 choise of the higher ground, to haue the better meane to offend
 an enemy: and bee well aduised neuer to plant his armie vpon
 the side of a hill, nor in any lowe ground neere vnto any bancke
 or hill: because that the lower ground would be subiect vnto the
 enemies Ordnance, if they should occupie the higher; against
 which inconuenience there could no other remedie be found but
 to chaunge the place and to get further of. Moreover, he that
 doth order an armie to giue battaile, must haue a regard of the
 Sunne and the winde, to the intent that neither of them should
 be in his Souldiers faces: for they would greatly hinder their
 sight: to weet, the Sunne with his brightnesse, and the winde
 with that it driueth before it. Moreover, the violence of the wind
 oftentimes is such, that it doth trouble the pikemen, horsemen, and
 archers, that they cannot helpe themselves with their pikes,
 Launces, and Bowes so well as when it is calme. Imagine

To consider the
 station of the
 Sunne & winde

how they should be serued if they had it in their faces. The Romanes thereby lost the battaile at Canouse agaynst Anniball. And as for the Sunne, it is requisite to take heed that it bee not in the faces of the Battailons when they are ready to giue battaile : and also consideration must bee had, that in mounting or descending, it do not trouble them, and therfore the Battailons must bee raunged at the Sunne rising, with their bakes towards it, and giue battaile befoze the Sunne should decline to bee in their faces : or if the enemy had the aduantage of the Sunne in the morning, then must they deferre to enter into battaile vntill noone, and so they might haue the aduantage of the Sunne at afternoone.

This was obserued by Marius agaynst the Cimbres, and by King Phillip Augustus against the Flemings. If this Generall had a lesse number of people then his enemies, he might raunge them amongst vines, and trees, and other such like, as did the great Captaine of the Spanyards at Serignolle, whē the Frenchmen were ouerthrowne. For by that meanes horsemen could not hurt them, nor footmen very well; because that trees, bushes, and such other like, do hinder an enemies approaching, without breaking their rankes, and the Generall his armie which do stand firme to receiue them, shall haue the aduantage, so that the place where they are raunged bee open and plaine fourtie or fiftie paces befoze the battaile. It hath been seene heretofore, that by those selfesame Souldiers that Battailles haue bin lost, victories haue immediatly after bin wonne, by chaunging their order or accustomed manner of fight, as it came to passe amongst the Carthagenians, who hauing oftimes been vanquished by Marcus Regulus, were afterwards victorious by the counsaile of Xantippus the Lacedemonian, who only by chaunging and altering of the place, turned the fortune of the Punicke warre, and lifted them by agayne: for he seeing the Carthagenians to bee stronger of horsemen then the Romanes were, and also to bee well accompanied with footmen, and to haue many Elephants, and notwithstanding all this to keepe themselves in the mountaines, and the Romanes who were strong only but in footmen, kept the plaine, caused the Punnicks

*Consulues
subtly at
Ce*

nickes to go into the plaine, and there fought and overcame the Romanes.

We thinke that almost al the auncient Captaines when they knewe that their enemies placed all their greatest forces in one of the poynts of their armies, haue not placed befoze the sayd enemies their greatest forces; but haue offered them the weakest battailes that they had, and given commaundement vnto their best forces that they should only stand firme to resist their enemies, but not repulse them, commaunding the sayd weakest battailes who they esteemed least, to assay to vanquish their said enemies, and to retyze vnto the battailes behind them. And this they did with great reason, knowing that this policie might bying their enemies into two great disorders. The first was, that the sayd enemies should haue their best Souldiers inclosed betwixt their aduersaries battailes. The second was, that when they should thinke to haue gotten the victorie, it would bee greatly to bee merueiled at, if their hands did not put themselves into disorder, aswell for the victorie which they thought to haue gotten, as for to fall to pillage.

Cornelius Scipio being in Spayne agaynst Asdruball, knowing that the sayd Asdruball was aduertised that hee was accustomed to raunge his Romane Legions in the midst of the front of his Battailles; and that hee raunged vpon the two poyntes or corners those whome hee made least accompt of: and that for this purpose Asdruball had placed also in the midst the best Souldiers that hee had to make front with them vnto the Romane Legions, the sayd Scipio altered his custome vpon the day of battaile, and placed his Legions vpon the corners of his armie, and placed his light armed people in the midst; of whose force he made no great accompt. Afterwarde when they came to the fight, the sayd Scipio caused his middle Battailons to march sayze and softlie, and caused the two poyntes or corners to march forwarde with great diligence and haste, so that the two corners of both their armies fought onely, and those in the midst approached not each other: and so the strongest Battailons of

*A slight to
make the front
firm by hand.*

Scipio, fought against Asdrubal his weakest: and the stoutest Souldiers that Asdrubal had, serued but to looke on: for the Romanes armie with their two corner battailes marching forward, and their middle battailes retpyng, were like vnto a newe Moone: by which policie the Punickes were overthrowne.

When a Captaine Generall doth finde his Souldiers to be a moze greater number then his enemies, and would inuiron his sayd enemies vpon euery side befoze he should perceiue it, he must raunge the front of his Battailles of the same breadth that his enemies are raunged: and when they come to ioyne, the two popnts or corners might stretch themselves out, and inuiron their enemies, not looking for it: as were the Romanes at Cannes by the Souldiers of Anniball. If a Lieutenant Generall will fight in safetie, and without hazarding to bee quite overthrowne, he must frame his Battailons neere vnto some such place, as might serue him for a refuge to retpye vnto, if so be that they should be forced: and this refuge must bee at the backes of his Battailles, as some marish, or hilles, or some strong towne: for although he should lose the Battaille, yet they could not bee utterly put to the sword: which aduantage his enemies should not haue, but he might followe them if he thought it good. Annibal oftentimes helped himselfe with this foresight after that his fortune began to chaunge, when as he had to do with Marcellus.

Diuers Chieftes to bring their enemies into disorder, haue commanded their light armed Souldiers to begin the battaille: and the battaille being begun that they should retpye themselves in the spaces left betwixt the Battailons, and that when the armies were come to aboord one another, and the enemies attentive vnto the fight, they should then issue out at the flankes, and should assault the sayd enemies vpon the sides of the Battailons. I would thinke it not amisse sometimes to place a ranke of Target men befoze the first rankes of the Halberies; which Target men should bee furnished with fire pots, balles, and other such like fire workes, which they might throwe

*Annibals
fouf 98*

throwe amongst their enemies, when they are approached
 within tenne or twelue paces one of an other. And this
 done, it might bee thought that these fireworkes would
 spoile many a man, or at the least breake their order. And put
 case that this do no effect, yet it is a most certaine thing that
 the Targets will greatly annoy the enemies Pikemen, in cut-
 ting off their Pikes with their Swords, which they might do
 without any great daunger, because of the Targets which do
 couer them, & the Hastaries are at their heeles to defend them:
 for if the Targets should get vnder the Pikes, they might easi-
 ly cut their throates, whilst the Hastaries do occupy them in
 fight. Concerning this matter I haue heard say that at the bat-
 taile of Serignolle, the Spanyards with their Targets entred
 within our Switzers vnder their Pikes, and constrained them to
 forsake their Pikes, and to take their Swords, because the Pikes
 for their length might do them no more seruice, whereof in-
 sued, that the Switzers were ouerthrowne. It failed but a little
 that the like did not happen vnto our Lant knights at the bat-
 taile at Rauenna, for the Spanyards with their Targets had
 taken away the vse of our Pikes, and did cut them at theyr
 willes, so that if our horsemen had not come to their succour,
 they had slaine them all. If a Lieutenant Generall had too fewe
 horsemen, he might place Pikemen to backe them, and appoint
 that when they should come vnto the fight, the horsemen should
 make place for the said Pikemen, to the intent they might fight
 against their enemies horsemen in good order. And therefore
 the said Lieutenant Generall should alwayes haue a certayne
 number of footemen, both Pikes, and Harquebusiers, who
 should be practised (as I haue said before) to fight among
 horsemen: for it may stand him in great steepe, and many good
 Chieffes haue heretofore helped themselves by that meanes,
 and specially the Harquebusiers at this day may do great ser-
 uice therein. Caesar ouercame his enemies in Pharsalia, by
 meanes of mingling footemen amongst horsemen. Likewise
 Scanderbeke Duke of Epire, hath won many good victories
 within this 90. yeares against the Turks by this manner of
 fight. Forasmuch as we do speake of those that haue found

*Judges on
Caesar.* aduantages, by altering the forme of the ranging of their men in Battaille, I must say, that Scipio and Anniball were the two most expertest men in this arte in their time, or that haue bene since, Caesar excepted, vnto whome, I dare attribute this commendation, that he was the best man of warre that euer was: and the other two were the most excellentest next him, who shewed theyr good wits, chiefly at that day that they fought in Africke, for whieh they haue been commended of euery man, and shall be eternally. For these two Chieffes being readie to giue Battaille, which they could not with honesty auoide, ordered their Armies in these formes that I will shewe you.

Anniball hauing in his Army diuers Nations, placed 80. Elephants in the fronts of his Battailles, behinde whome, he placed his aydes or pertakers, and behinde them the Carthaginians, and raunged his Italyans (whome he trusted not) behinde all. He ordered them after this manner, to the intent that his assistants being betwixt his enemyes and the Carthaginians, might not flye: so that the sayd assistants being constrained to fight, should either vanquish or wearie the Romanes, meaning afterward to ouercome the sayd wearied Romanes with his Carthageniāns, who were fresh men. Against which ordered Battaille, Scipio placed his Legions after their accustomed manner, and made the front full of distances or spaces left betwixt his Battailons: and to the intent that these spaces should not be scene, but that the front might seeme to be furnished as it was wont, he filled the sayd spaces with his Velites or light armed men, giuing them commaundement to make way for the Elephants to passe when the Battailles did approach nere together, and to retye themselues into the spaces betwixt the Battailles, meaning thereby that the force of the said Elephants should come to nothing, and it happened so. This done, the Battailles of Scipio came to fight hand to hand with those of Anniball, and ouerthrew them, during which combate, Scipio toynd his Princes and Triaries together, and caused the Hastaries to open themselues to make way for the others to passe betwixt them, and placed the said Hastaries
vpon

upon the sides, seeing them to be wearied with fighting against
 the first Battailles: and that the greatest forces were yet be-
 hinde, which were the Carthagenians themselves, who were
 placed in the second Battaille as is aforesaid. And because that
 Anniball had placed all the force of his army in his second
 Battaille, Scipio to present him the like force, caused his Prin-
 ces and Triaries to come forward, for he accounted not his
 Hastaries to be of that valewe that his Princes were, and in
 truth it was so: for the Princes were reputed to be more va-
 liant then the Hastaries, and the Triaries more then the Prin-
 ces, by this assembling of his three Battailles into one, he o-
 uerthrew his enemyes. This direction both in the one and the
 other proceeded of a very good wit. And if we at this instant
 should haue warres with a people that would vse Elephants,
 we might imitate Scipio: yet they are subiect vnto Ordnance
 how great and strong so euer they be. As for the order that
 Anniball vsed, it might be imitated as often as we haue an
 Host framed of many Nations, and such as we did giue no
 great credit vnto, but only vnto our owne. Mounseigneur de Lau-
 trec (whome I may well name amongst all the most excellent
 Chieftes that haue been of long time) ranged his Battailles in
 another order, at that day that he presented Battaille vnto the
 Emperour his army in the kingdome of Naples before Troy.
 For although that he had diuers nations in his army, as Italy-
 ans, Almaines, Switzers, Gascons, & Frenchmen: notwith-
 standing, to make shew that he mistrusted no more the loyalty of
 Strangers, then of the Frenchmen themselves, made but one
 front of all these 4. or 5. Nations together, so that the one could
 not say that he was more preferred then the other, nor more kept
 backe, yet there were amongst them that did require the first
 point, or to tearme it better, to make the Forloyn hope. And I
 heard it spoken that this new order (which I tearme to be new
 with vs, who are accustomed but to heare speak of a Vantgard,
 Battaille, and Reregard) was such, as the Lord Dartigue-
 loue, then Lieutenant to Mounseigneur Negrepelisse, of whose
 companie I was sometime, tolde me, and certayne other
 his familiar friends, that this Battaille was ranged
 according

according vnto the auncient manner, the which is the best and most surest that may be, as I haue afoze said. And likewise that the afozesaid Mounfire de Lautrec knewe well that the nations whome he gouerned, had each others honour in great iealousie: for the Switzers were iealous ouer the Almaignes, and the Frenchmen ouer the Italyans, and contrarily: therefore he could not haue preferred the one, without discrediting the other: so that to make his profite of the malice that was amongst them, it was better to place them all in one front to see what they could do for to spight one another, then to vse the accustomed manner: for it is no small occasion to moue Souldyers withall, to tell them that such haue vanquished those with whom they fought, or whē as they feare they should do it before them, had it pleased God that the enemyes heate had not bene so cooled as it seemed it was at that time, but that they had come out of their Fort: for thzough the good will that was in our men, and the good order that was aswell amongst the footemen as the horsemen, it is most certayne that there hath not been a battaile giuen in many a day, that had been better fought, then that was like to do: but he that ordereth all things, had determined that it should happen otherwise, and therefore it was not fought: but to returne to my purpose. Wherefoze in Asia they vsed certayne Waggens, garnished with sharp sythes, made fast vnto the sides of the same Waggens, who serued not only to open a Battaille by meanes of their violence (for that the said Waggens were drawne by the swiftest horses that might be found) but also the sythes were good to cut as many in pierces as they touched: which Waggens might be resisted after three manner of wayes: first, with ranks of the Pikes: secondly, by making them way thzough the Battailles, as hath been spoken of the Elephants: and thirdly, by placing somewhat vpon the way that might keepe them from approaching the Battailles, as Silla did against Archelaus, who hauing many of these Waggens, caused great plants of Pine trees to be set in the ground behinde his Hastaries, in the place left void betwixt them and the Princes: and seeing the Waggens approaching neere, he gaue a signe that the Hastaries should retire within the Princes, who

who being retired, were out of danger to be slaine with the said
 sythes, and the Waggonns were stayed from approaching the
 Battailles. Moreover upon the same day Silla inuented a new
 manner of ranging of an Hoast, for he put all his light armed
 men behinde his Battailles, and left many spaces betwixt his
 said Battailles for them to passe through to go forward as often
 as it should be needfull. And when the Battaille was begun, he
 caused his light armed men and his horsemen to come forward
 to charge his enemyes, who being out of their course because
 their Waggonns were repulsed, were broken, and ouerthrowne
 in short time. There is yet many other formes to be vled in the
 ranging of a Battaille, of which I will speake as the matter will
 leade me thereunto, not staying otherwise: to the intent to
 speake in few words a little of euery thing that concerneth this
 discipline, and that which is needfull to be knowne, for to haue
 seruice of these Legions ordered as I haue shewed, it is neces-
 sarye that I should ouerpasse them all briefly, and yet not so
 briefly as to leaue those points vnspoken of that ought to be
 touched, or at the least the most necessaryest; therefore I will
 begin with those things that ought to be done during the Com-
 bat, and will speake of other things that may trouble and dis-
 courage an enemy whilst he attendeth for the Combat.

A Generall Chiefe may cause a voice to be giuen out, that
 he hath a new supply of men comming vnto him, and may make
 a shew of some matter like a truth, that may signifie his succour
 to be neere, and it may happen that through this bruite, his e-
 nemyes would be discouraged at the likelyhood of the sayd suc-
 cour, and being discouraged, he might ouerthrowe them with
 little difficultie. Minutius Rufus, and Acilius Glabrio, two
 Romane Consuls, helped themselves with this subletie. Sul-
 pitius put all the seruants and labourers of his Hoast vppon
 Hoxles and other Beasts, vnfit for sight, causing them to be
 ranged in such sort that they seemed a farre off to be a great
 number of horsemen, whome he sent by vpon a Mountaine
 somewhat neere vnto his enemyes Campe, commaunding the
 to keepe themselves close, vntill the Battaille was begun, and
 that then they should shewe themselves in many troupes like
 horsemen,

*James Heller
 Constant
 Ferdinand H.
 of Naples
 made shew
 of a flock
 of men who
 were but only
 sheeps.
 Paul. 3. prouid
 a Patriarch
 to com from
 Armenia
 as Counsell
 of Tiro*

horsemen, faigning to come downe vpon the Gaules, who
 thinking that certayne newe bands had come vnto the Ro-
 manes, retyred notwithstanding that they were in a good for-
 wardnes to get the victorie: whereby we see, that faigned as-
 saults do helpe to amaze enemyes while they are in fight. And
 therefore it may be thought that the assault that might be giuen
 them in good earnest, would do much more seruice, specially if
 they were giuen vpon the flanks or behinde at butwarcs, when
 the fight is at the hottest. Truth it is that this can not be done
 but very hardly, except the ground be very fit for the purpose,
 for if the countrey be plaine and open, it will be impossible to
 hide your people in any place, which is a thing necessary in such
 like enterprises: for y^e ground must be bowing, or full of bushes
 & hedges, or otherwise fit for the purpose, in which places the
 Generall might lay part of his people in ambush to issue out,
 and sodainly assault his enemyes, not giuing them leasure to
 prouide for it. And this must be handled so secretly, that his
 enemyes do not perceiue it: for if the said ambush do wisely
 execute their enterpryse in due time, it shall neuer fayle to ob-
 taine victorie. This manner of warre did Scanderbeg oftentimes
 vse against the Turks, who hath ouerthrowne more Turks
 with his ambushes, and surpises, then any other Prince that
 I do knowe, how great a number of people so euer he hath
 had. It hath oftentimes serued to good purpose, to giue out a
 voyce during the Combate, that the Captayne Generall of the
 enemyes is slayne, or to encourage souldyers with cryng that
 they haue the victorie. An enemyes horse may also be troubled
 with horrible sights, and vnaccustomed noyse, which policie
 Cræsus vsed, placing Camels before his enemyes horsemen,
 and Pirrus placed Elephants before the Romanes horsemen,
 the sight whereof so feared and disordred their horses, that they
 could not be maisters of them. Semiramis caused many artifi-
 ciall Elephants to be made, which representing naturall Ele-
 plants, put the horsemen of Staurobates King of India to
 flight, because the horses were feared with that newe shape,
 and with a smell that was contrary vnto the Elephants that
 they had been accustomed vnto. It is not long since, that the
 Turke

Turke Soltan Selim ouerthrewe the Sophy in Persia, and the Souldan in Siria, principally with the noyse of the Harquebusery, which was a thing that they had not bin accustomed vnto, and therefore so skared their horses, that it was not possible to keepe them in order to fight, but did put them to flight incontinent, he that best might fastest. The Spanyards to vanquish the army of Amilcar, placed before their Battails diuers Waggones full of light wood and hymestone, which were drawne by Oxen, and when the battailes approached, they put fire into their Waggones, whereupon the said Oxen to flye from the fire which they perceiued at their tails, thrust into the battailes of Amilcar so forceibly, that they opened them, and put them in disorder. An enemy may be deceiued, if in fighting he may be brought vnto an ambush, as is abouesayd. But if so be that the countrey be not fit for ambushes, there may be diuers great ditches made, which may be couered with bushes, and earth lightly layd ouer agayne, and certaine firme places be left betwixt the ditches, with good marks for to finde them, at which places those may retire that are sent to charge their enemies, faigning to be afrayd in their returning backe againe, to cause their enemies to follow them the faster, and to fall into the snare. A King of the Etheolytes, which are a people neere vnto Persia, vled this policy against Perofas, King of Persia. The Egyptians also at a day of Battaille, hauing certaine quagmyres nere them, couered the said quags with an hearbe called Alga, to hide the euill places from the sight of their enemies, and when the battaille began, the said Egyptians faigning to flye, retried vnto the quags, and passed through at certayne sure passages, and theyr enemies who pursued them in great haste, sonke into the myre bp to the throates, and so were ouerthrowne. Viriatus did as much against the Romanes.

If any accident should happen vnto the Generall during the combat, which might dismay his souldiers, it is a point of great wisdom to couer it, and to make the best of it presently: as Tullius Hostilius, who seeing that his assistants whiche ought to enter battaille with him, went theyr wayes without striking

in Persia

striking stroke, and that their departure would haue greatly dismayed his souldyers, caused it to be giuen out through all his Hoast, that they went away by his commaundement, which did not only appease his people, but did mozeouer so incourage them, that they were victorizous. The like did Silla when a great part of his horsemen forsooke him. And another time when as he had sent certaine of his assistants into a place where they were all ouerthrowne and slaine except one person, fearing least his Army should be dismayed, sayd incontinently that it was done by his owne will and counsaile, because they had conspired against him, and that therefore he had sent them vnto that place to dispatch them, to pzeuent their mischief. Sertorius being in Spayne in battayle against his enemyes, slew a messenger that brought him word of the death of one of his Captains, doubting that this newes should haue discouraged, and taken away his souldyers good wills for to fight. Titus Didius hauing lost many of his people in battaile against his enemyes, who on both sides had giuen ouer, not knowen who had the better, to hide the losse he had sustained, caused all the night long his dead men to be caried away, and to be buryed: the next day his enemyes seeing a great number of dead men on their side, and very fewe of the Romanes, imagining thereby that they were greatly weakened, forsooke the place, not offering battaile any moze. It is a hard matter to stay and to bring an Army backe againe vnto the Combat when it is fleeing, I meane, if they be all in going: but if it were but part of them, there might then some remedie be found, and such a remedie, as diuers Captaines haue helped themselves withall heeretofore, which hath bene, to place themselves before those that fledde, shewing them the danger and shame that doth follow a flight. Of which Captaines was Silla, who seeing that a great part of his Souldyers chased by Mithridates, had turned their backs, got before the with his sword in his hand, and vsed these words vnto them in a lowde voice, as in repproach: You Romane Souldyers that flye away, when you are returned vnto your Citie, if any man do aske you where you haue left your Captaine, aunswere them that you forsooke him in Boetia fighting against

*Gladius caesus
Sertorius & Silla*

against his enemyes. Attilius the Confull, seeing that a great part of his army did fight valiantly, and that another part began to flye, tooke those that made no shew to flye, and placed the against those that were flying, saying vnto them, that those that would not returne againe vnto the Combate, although they had escaped their enemies hands, should not escape their friends. Phillip King of Macedon, knowing that his souldyers feared greatly the Scythians, against whome he was constrained to fight, appointed that a great number of his best horsemen, and those whome he trusted most vnto, should be placed vpon the wings and taile of his battailes, commaunding them to kill all those that would make any shew to turne their backs: whereof his people being aduertised, chose rather to abide the aduenture of the Battaille, then to trust vnto the flight, and by that meanes ouercame them. The Romanes not only to stay a flight, but also the more to animate their souldiers in the fight, haue sometimes taken their Ensignes from those that carried them, and thrust them forward into the thickest preece of their enemyes, who remembering the shame and punishment that might come vpon those that should suffer their Ensignes to be lost, haue fought manfully. At other times it hath happened that the Roman Consuls seeing their Ensignebearers to march too slowly & coldly against their enemyes, haue caused them to be slayne vpon the place, and if it chaunced that all the army did flye before their enemyes, they did then shut the gates of their Camp, saying, that no souldier should enter before they had vanquished their enemyes, which caused them to re-enter in battaille, and to begin the Combat in better order. I do heere remember my selfe somewhat as touching the forme of ranging of an army in battaille: there haue bin heretofore Captaines that haue ranged their battailes in point, that is to say, narrow and strong, their chiefest forces before, thinking by that meanes to open the enemyes Hoast the easier, against which manner, hath bin inuented a forme of battaille like vnto a paire of sheares, or foxke, for to receiue the said point and to enuiron it, and to fight wih it vpon euery side: in which cases, this generall rule must be vsed, that is, that the greatest remedy that a man may find against his e-

enemies pretence, is to do that voluntarily which he shall be enforced to do, for that doing it voluntarily, it may be done in good order to his advantage, and vnto the prejudice of his enemies, whereas if he be enforced to do it vpon an extremitie, it will be his manifest perdition. And to verifie this, I must repeate certaine things spoken of before, if our enemy do make the head of his battailes sharp and strong before, to open our battailes, and that we attend, or assaile him, hauing ours open, we are sure to put our enemies into disorder without any doubt, and they shall not be able to put our men to any foyle. To proue it to be true, Anniball placed Elephants in the front of his army, to open Scipio his Battailles, which Scipio marching with his Battailles open, did thereby ouerthrow him. Asdruball placed the best souldiers that he had in the middest of the front of his army, for to enforce Scipio his men, but Scipio commanded that they should retyre of themselves, and so ouercame them: so that we do see that an enemy may be frustrated of his imagination, when as we do prouide for it betime, and when as we do that voluntarily which we thinke we must do either by force, or extremitie.

What a Lieutenant Generall ought to do, after the winning or leeing of a Battaille, and what considerations he ought to haue before that he do enter into Battaille.

The 2. Chapter.



I shall not be amisse, to adde vnto this discourse the chances that may happen after the winning or leeing of a Battaille: specially for that those things which I do meane to intreate of concerning this matter are so appertinent therevnto, that they ought not to be left vnspoken, and may be written briefly. Let vs say then that Battailles may be won and lost (as euery man knoweth) who so winneth, ought to follow the victorie with all diligence, imitating Caesar in this case, and not Anniball, who lost the opportunitie of hauing the vpper hand of the Romanes, after that he had banquished them at Cannas: because that he rested too much, and Caesar would ne-

ues

uer rest after that he had the victoꝝ, but followed his enemies moze fearcelly after that he had broken their forces, then he did assault them being in their intier. But whē a battaile is lost, a Captaine Generall must see if by his losse he may not haue a meane to hurt his enemies, & to repaire his losse, specially if he haue any people left to do it withall. The oppertunitie may be giuen thꝛough the small care that an enemy hath oftentimes after a victoꝝ, foꝛ that many times he doth become negligent, hauing no care of watch, noꝛ regard of being surprisid: wherfoꝛe a Captaine Generall may then haue meanes to repaire his losse, as did Martius the Romane, after that the two Romane armies were ouerthrowne, & the two Scipios dead, who ouerthrew the Carthagenians at that time they thought theselues to be most surest, and whē as they doubted not that þ remnant of two vanquished hoasts durst assault their vanquishers: so that (thꝛough the great trust that they had in their owne assurance) they neglected to keepe good watch the night following, in which the said Martius assailed & ouerthrew the: foꝛ euery man knoweth that there is nothing so easly to be brought to passe, as that which an enemy thinketh dare not be put in pꝛactise, and they do oftentimes take hurt on that side that do least looke foꝛ it. And if a Captaine Generall could not help himselfe by this meanes, because of the vigilancie of his enemies, yet he must study to make his losse as little damageable, as he may possible. Which to do, it were necessary þ he should handle the matter so that his enemies might not follow his men, noꝛ ouertake them flying from the battaile, but finde some policy to hinder his said enemies vpon the way. As concerning the flying without being followed, oꝛ being followed not to be ouertaken, & vtterly ouerthrowne, he must imitate the example of Sertorius, who being vanquished by Metellus, knowing that it would but little auaille him to flye away, commaunded his Captaines & men of war, that they should retyꝛe vnto diuers places, as skattered & disperled as they might possible, hauing befoꝛe aduertised them of the place where they should all meet together againe. Viriatus did as much. In our time hapned almost the like amongst the Spanyards which retired from Marcellus in great disorder, who hauing the King

Casav & Ambrake
Cesurid
nil ending adu
si quid pꝛactise
agendum
Lucan

small Victoria
curan.

Ab pꝛactise
ser 6544
1541 - 5. 5. 10. 10.

S

Sertorius

at their tailes, knowing that he made haste to cut off their passages to arrive at Milan before them, and to enjoy all the strong townes of Italy, could not imagin a better remedy to helpe it, then to name the places unto which every man should retire, and to disperse themselves diuers wayes for the speede & safety of their iourney, for all the countrey was full of French souldiers: but what one way and other, they did so get through, that they assembled at the townes that were appointed them by their principall Chiefe, and there made themselves strong, namely, at Lodes, Pauie, and Cremona, which was the cause that we could not recouer the Duchy of Milan, but received diuers losses. This aduertisement might oftentimes be giuen before the beginning of a Battaille, if it were thought that the end of the Combat might happen to our losse: but this aduertisement might be giuen unto the principall Chieffes that haue the greatest authoritie in an Hoast, who afterward might aduertise the Captaines when as they do see no likelyhood of victorie, and not before: and thereof might this profit ensue, that is, that the Generall of the enemies doubting to deuide his army, might suffer either all or the greatest part of the vanquished to escape. Furthermore, to stay an enemy that should follow those that flye, he might cast his gold and treasure in the way as he flyeth, and it is sure that the enemies will stay to gather it vp, and in the meane while his army may haue time to escape, and to win ground of them. By this meanes haue diuers Princes & great Captaines helped themselves, and amongst others, King Mithridates, to escape from the hands of Lucullus, and Triphon King of Siria, to escape from the hands of Antiochus. Frotho King of the Danes being landed in England, did as much to deceiue the Englishmen that pursued him, who were so laden with the baggage of the Danes, that when they should haue defended themselves being assaulted, they were scattered here & there to gather vp the spoiles that the Danes left behind them, so that the Danes had as good a match at their hands as they did desire, and slew them at their pleasures. It resteth yet if I do well remember my selfe, to speake of the considerations that a Captayne Generall ought to haue, before that he

*Spanish Generall
E. 1. Polity 7.*

he come so farte as to giue battaile: for I haue promised before to speake somewhat thereof. Unto which point I do say first of all, that a Captaine Generall ought neuer to hazard a Battaille, except he see an aduantage, or that he be constrained thereto. The aduantage proceedeth of his enemyes wearpnes, ill ordering of his Battailles, of the hauing of a greater number of people, then the said enemy hath, or of the hauing of better souldyers. The constraint proceedeth of an assurance that we haue to leese if we fight not: as if so be that the want of money should cause an army to breake, or if so be that the assistants should force the said Generall for to hazard the battaile, as it hapned vnto Mounseieur de Lautrec at Bicocque, where the Switzers being the strongest, enforced him to fight with the Spanyards, and to assault them in their fort, threatening the said Lord, and protesting that at that very instant they would returne into their countrey, if so be that he gaue not battaile. And here in they did so greatly importune him, that he was forced to yeeld vnto their wills, and to fight at his great disadvantage: at which time he was repulsed, and consequently chased out of Italy. It is also requisite to hazard a battaile when an army is in danger of a present famine, or that the enemyes do looke for a new supply within short time: in such a case a Generall ought to giue battaile, although that the aduantage be not on his side, for it is better to try if fortune would fauour him any thing, then not trying it, to abide the arriuing of his ruyne. And a Lieutenant Generall deserueth as great a check when he falleth into these inconuenients, as if he had a fit opportunitie to banquish his enemyes, and had not knowne it through his ignorance, or had lost it through his sloath. These aduantages are sometimes offered by an enemy, and sometimes our owne wisdom doth giue vs them. The aduantages which an enemy doth giue, are after diuers manners, as when they are separated, & far distant one from another, hauing their enemyes neere vnto them: as were the souldyers of the Duke Desfontuille vpon þ day that they were ouerthrowne at Adrian: for the Quantgard & the greatest part of the army were so far frō the battaile & the Arriergard, that they could not be aduertised in time to returne

famine.

to ioine themselues together : wherefoze being separated so far off, the Spanyards made of them what market they would. A Lieutenant Generall doth likewise cause his owne overthrow, when he doth send any part of his people out of his Camp, lodging them far off in weake places at the mercy of his enemies : for there needeth no man but the enemies to knowe of it to cut their throates, as it happened vnto Mounſieur Bayard, at Re-bethe, who lay there vnfortified by the commandement of the Lord Admirall Bonniuet, looking euery houre whē the enemies should assault him, which they did in the end, & slew both him & his. It hath many times hapned that an army hath been overthrowne in passing ouer great riuers, through the good aduise-ment of the Captaine Generall, who hath staied vntill the one halfe hath bin past, & afterward hath charged vpon that part & stood best for his hand, as Cæsar did against the Switzers, being come downe alongſt the riuier of Sone, where he staied vntill 3. parts of thē were past, & after charged vpon the fourth that was behind, & ouerthrew thē, the others by no meanes able to suc-cour thē. Sometime an enemy doth ouer-trauaile himſelfe, at which time if he should assault vs being fresh & rested, we ought by no meanes to let this oppertunitie to ſlip, for we should haue thē as good cheape as we would our selues, as the Englishmen had the Frenchmen at the battaile of Crefye. Moreover, a Ge-nerall may spend a good part of the day before his issuing out of his Camp, when he thinketh that his enemies haue bin long ar-med, and after that they haue lost their first heate. This manner did Scipio & Metellus vse in Spaine, the one against Asdrubal, & the other against Sertorius. A Captaine Generall may like-wise hazard & Combat, if he knew that his enemies haue dimi-nished his hoast, as did the Spanyards in Nauarre against the Lord of Espattez, or that he had diuided thē, as the two Scipios did in Spaine, wherby they were overthrowne & slaine. We did likewise weaken our hoast at Pauy, to send vnto Naples & other places, which was cause that the enemies did the bolder assault vs, & that we were so much the weaker to defend our selues a- gainst thē. A wise Captaine ought rather to resist the violence of his enemies, then to assault them furiously: for fury is easily re-
sisted

*Passing a river
Cæsar*

*Englishmen
winning
Battaile of
Crefye*

lifted by fast & sure men, and if it be once withstoode, the rest is
 nothing, both because they do put theselues out of breath, & also
 their battailes out of order, how little so euer they march hasty-
 ly, as also for y^e the first heat doth coole, whē as they see y^e constā-
 cy of the attendant to be other then they looked for before. By the
 meanes of this patience in staying to receiue the enemyes army
 without stirring foot, did Fabius Maximus ouercome y^e Gaules
 & the Samnits: and the Englishmen ouerthrew the Frenchmē
 at the battaile of Poitiers, only because they staid for our bat-
 tailes, & receiued them standing fast: yet that staying to receiue
 an enemy without mouing foote, may sometime be dangerous,
 specially whē those that assault are good souldiers & expert men,
 & that their hasty marching doth not put them out of order: for
 all men haue a naturall heat in them, and a brauery of minde,
 which is set on fire thzough y^e desire y^e they haue to fight, which
 must be maintained by the Captaine Generall, & not be cooled.
 With then, marching hastily doth encrease it, because one man
 doth incourage another, & going doth heat them more & more,
 therefore this manner to assaile, is better then the other to re-
 sist: true it is, that practiced & expert souldiers may vse it, & not
 others, for y^e reason that I haue shewed, and if Cæsar his soul-
 diers had not bin so good as they were, Pompey his maner had
 preuailed in Pharsalia, who commanded his souldiers to stand
 to receine their enemies: and if the Frenchmen had bin well
 practised being so great a number as they were, the Englishmē
 had abidden their fury but a while, notwithstanding that they
 were inclosed in a strong place. Certaine good Chieffes, when
 as their enemies souldiers haue bin more in number then theirs,
 haue giuen battaile in the euening, to the intent that if they were
 vanquished, they might saue y^e greatest part of their mē thzough
 the darknes of y^e night, as did Iugurtha against Metellus. Di-
 thers knowing y^e their enemies hoast was gouerned by super-
 stitions, & that they would not fight but on certain daies, haue
 chosen at that time to giue the battaile, & haue vanquished the:
 but this policy would take no place amongst vs at this day, for
 that superstitions haue no more that course that they had hereto-
 fore in the time of Cæsar, when he fought against Ariouistus, &

when Pompey fought against the Iewes. The wisest point that a Captaine Generall can do, is to keepe a good number of faithfull men commonly about him, who are wise & expert in y^e feats of the wars, with whome he may consult at all houres, & confer with thē touching his owne force and his enemyes: to discerne whether of them hath the greatest power, best souldiers, best armed, and best practised men, or which of their two armyes can best abide the extremities of the warres. Likewise he ought to debate with his said counsaile whether he might trust most, vnto his horsemen, or vnto his footemen, and whether it were for his most aduantage to put himselfe in the plaine, or to keepe the hills. Furthermore, whether the place that he is in be of more aduantage for him, then for his enemyes, and to consider whether of the two armyes may be most commodiously victualled, and whether it be good to defer the giuing of battaile, or to come to the fight immediatly, & what aduantage the time may either giue or take: for many times when souldiers do see the warre prolonged, they waxe discontented, and therefore being wearied with paines and griefe, and moued with a desire that they haue to returne vnto their owne houses; they might be like ynough to forsake the Camp, and to goe their wayes. Abooue all things he ought to knowe the Captayne Generall of his enemyes army, and what people he hath about him, and seeke to vnderstand whether he be rashe or warie, a coward, or valiant, and whether his men be new souldiers, or hardened, and with what enemyes they haue had to do, and whether the said enemyes were men of warre or not. Furthermore, the said Lieutenant ought to consider whether he may repose his most trust in his assistants & other strange souldiers, or in his owne countrey men, and consider in which of thē there is the greatest likelihood, and if so be that he see his Hoast dismated, or out of hope to vanquish their enemyes, he ought then to haue the greatest care that may be not to giue battaile: for the greatest token that may be of the losse of a battaile, is, whē as souldiers haue a conceipt in themselves that their enemyes cannot be overcome. Therefore all occasions y^e might bring a Chief vnto this point against his wil must be auoided, & Fa. Maximus imitated herein,

who

*Good Inuoluntary
admirer
Generale.*

who alwaies placed his Camp in strong places, which was the occasion that Anniball had neuer the heart to assaile him. And when a Captaine Generall doth doubt that his enemy hath so great power that he might, or would assaile him in his trenches, there is no better remedie for him then to leaue the field, and to retye his men into strong Garrisons, parting his bands some one way and some another: to the intent that the trouble of the besieging of many townes and strong places, might wearie his enemies, so that they should bee constrained to lose their time altogether, or at the least he himselfe haue respite to strengthen himselfe to go againe into the field when he should see time, or else I do not thinke that it were possible for a Chiefe to auoyde the battaile (whatsoever should happen) if so be that his enemies had will for to fight: except he kept himselfe alwaies twentie or thirtie miles from them, to the intent to haue time enough to raise his Campe before his enemies comming, if so bee that they would assault him, as did the aforesayd Fabius Maximus in keeping himselfe farre from Anniball. And although that the distance was not aboue twentie or thirtie miles, yet the countrie was so fit for to auoyd the combat, that if so bee he would haue fled he might haue done it, although he had been hard followed, which Fabius neuer ment to do: for he did not so much auoyd the combat for the feare he had of his enemies, as to constrain them to assault him in his fort at their disadvantage, or to wearie them in deferring to come to the combat, and thereby to constrain them to abandon the countrie, or at the least to keepe themselves the closer together, and to make lesse spoyle and wast of the countrie, then if he had left them alone. And on the other part, Anniball (through his obstinacie) attended to vanquish the Romanes patience, vntil such time as they should come downe into the plaine to fight with him, putting his men in greater daunger, then if he had tried to vanquish Fabius by assaulting him in his fort with the losse of a fewe men. We must thinke that he should haue been forced to come to the battaile, or to haue gone his waies, how vnwilling soeuer he had been to fight. Phillip of Macedon father of Perseus, hauing warres against the Romanes, placed his Campe vpon a mountaine, to

the intent that he would not bee constrained to fight but with his owne freewill : but the Romanes how dangerous soeuer it was, went and fought with him in his fort and ouerthrew him. The Venetians when they were at Pandin, sith they were not determined to fight, ought betimes to haue remoued farre of from the hoast of King Lewis, or at the least to haue assaulted the Frenchmen whilst they were in passing the riuer of Adde: but they tarrying too long, could not depart when they would without strokes: for in the remouing of their Camp the French men charged them and ouerthrew them.

How a Captaine Generall ought to deferre to come vnto combat with his enemies as much as he may possible, when as the sayd enemies are entred into his Princes countrie : and whether is the greater daunger to attend for his enemies at home in his owne countrie, or to go seeke them in theirs. And likewise, if the sayd Generall should be importuned by his Souldiers to fight, how he might auoid it, and how to encourage them, if so be they were afrajd of their enemies.

The 3. Chapter.

IT is a great poynt of wisdom to deferre the comming to battaile, when as a man is assailed in his owne countrie, his enemies hauing better souldiers, and a greater number then he hath: for if the battaile should be lost through the assailing of them, the countrie would be in hazard to be lost. The example of the last King of Hungarie may proue it to be true, who being assailed (in the yere 1526.) by the Turke the raigning, thought it better to hazard the battaile and to fight with the Turkes at their ariuall, then to forbear and to stand vpon his guard; which was cause that he himselfe was slaine, and his kingdome lost. Therefore, the surest way is to make a defensue warre in prouiding for the townes that are vpon the frontiers, & to cause the victualls to be spoiled & cannot be brought safely away : & this doing our enemies shalbe famished, or constrained (if they do not retire)

retire) to seeke to fight with vs, how greatly soeuer it be to their
 disaduantage. And we shalbe at choyse to accept or to refuse the
 battaile, as we shal see it to be for our aduantage. As concerning
 this poynt of forbearing an enemye, & wisely defending of a coun-
 trie: I cannot alleadge a more fresh example, then the manner
 that was obserued by the Lord Constable in Prouince against
 the Emperour: for after that he had well furnished the townes
 vpon the frontiers, that were defenceable, and those that might
 hinder his enemies comming forward (if so bee that they would
 haue entred farre into the countrie) hauing caused all the milles
 and ouens to be spoyled, & the corne and fruite to bee destroyed
 that could not safely be carried away, and likewise the wells and
 springs to be corrupted: the sayd Lord Constable made himselte
 strong in Auignon, and there determined to attend to receiue
 the Switzers and other Souldiers that came for to ayd him, and
 also the coming of his enemies if they had will for to fight with
 him, which act was comended both of the one side & the other, for
 the most surest counsaile that might haue been vsed at that time:
 considering the force of our enemies, and how ill accompanied
 the King was, and that the warre was stirring in many places
 within his countrie: therefore to deceiue the Emperour his pre-
 tence (for he made his accompt to haue had a better match at
 our hands at home in our owne countrie then abroad) it was the
 best remedie that might haue been thought vpon, not to fight at
 the first ariuall, nor at the will of the sayd Emperour: but to
 suffer him to cole, & to weaken himself of men, victuals, & mony:
 whilest the said Lord Constable did make himselte strong of all
 things necessarie, attending for a time conuenient to make him
 to knowe in what daunger he putteth himselte that entreteth into
 another man his countrie, with a wrong conceipt: which daun-
 ger (to say truth) is greatly to bee feared. As for me I would
 neuer be of the opinion to assaile a Prince in his countrie, that
 is so mightie and so well obeyed, as the King of Fraunce is,
 what reason soeuer is alleadged vnto the contrarie. As for to
 saye that hee that doth assaile hath many aduantages vpon
 his side, I finde that he that is assailed hath many also vpon
 his side: and it little auayleth that some maintaine, that those
 that

Judges 21

that a Taile haue more courage then those that are assailed: for although that this may sometimes bee true, yet is it not alwaies so, for a Generall may embolden his men many waies, to make but little accompt of those whom they feared at the first. Moreover, the iust and holie quarrell that binderth euery man to defend his countrie, may be layd out before them; which is a thing that hath a more force in it, then the desire or hope of the enemies to be rich by other mens goods. And if wee will say that a Prince that doth assault another, doth take from his enemies the commoditie which he had before of the assistance of his subiects, for that the countrie will bee destroyed, and his subiects; so that hee may be no more assisted by them: it may bee answered, that although y goods be lost, yet y losse of goods doth not alienate, nor turne the peoples hearts from the affection that they beare vnto their naturall Prince. But it is an occasion to roote them in it more and more, and to stirre them vp and hearten them agaynst those that haue endomaged them, so that one of those that haue lost their goods, are worth foure of them that haue lost nothing, or that make warres for their Princes perticular quarrell. Euerie man knoweth what damage those of Prouince did of late vnto the Spanyards, that spoiled them, which damage had not been so great, if they had not misused the countrie people, or had not been the occasion of the destroying of their fruites that could not be saued. As for to ground vpon that, that a Prince which is assaulted, is constrained to haue the greater regard in taxing of his subiects, or in commaunding them to do any thing, least his people should refuse or denie to do it, vpon the hope they might haue to ioyne with his enemies, if their sayd Prince should misuse them, or neuer so little threaten them, is an argument that may be resolved in one word: to weet, that this assistance cannot bee taken from a Prince, except that he do leese all his lands and all his friends, for otherwise he shall be succoured in despite of his enemies, as appeareth by the succour that the Kings of Fraunce haue had of their subiects at all times: although that the Englishmen, Nauarrians, and a great number of the Princes of the realme were almost possessed of al France, so that the Kings of Fraunce knewe not where to set a foote for theirs:

theirs : yet notwithstanding they were alwaies obeyed, none of
 all those that were left theirs, refusing to bee taxed, or to bee im-
 ployed at the King his pleasure, so that this patience preuailed,
 and in the ende chased his enemies out of the realme. I do be-
 lieue that if a Prince did vse himselfe towards his subiects like
 a Tyrant, alwaies euill increating and misusing them, that if
 an enemy did assault him in his countrie, he might then bee in
 hazard to be ill followed and obeyed of his people : but in doing
 the contrarie, there is no doubt to be had in this matter. One
 thing there is for them that do assaile, & which is a great point,
 that is, that Souldiers who find themselves in a strange coun-
 trie farre from any refuge to retire vnto, seeing themselves in
 that extremitie, do fight so much the more resolute, making a
 vertue of necessitie: but this necessitie may not be compared vn-
 to the need that those haue to fight vertuously that are assailed,
 because that they are in danger to abide many extremities more
 then the assailants, if the said assailants should ouerthrow them:
 for the losse of life, raunsome, or imprisonment, do pay the rec-
 koning for them : whereas those that are assailed, do lose their
 goods, the honest reputation of their wiues and daughters, and
 their liues : and if so bee that they do escape killing, yet do they
 looke for a perpetuall seruitude, with an infinite number of other
 mischiefs : so that the aduantage on both sides is cleereely seen,
 and the assailant cannot haue one reason so strong for him, but
 the assailed may haue a better. Wherefore I do make no doubt
 to rest vpon this conclusion, that is, that euery Prince ought to
 haue a regarde, before hee enter into the countrie of another
 Prince his neighbour that is as mightie as himselfe, and more-
 ouer maketh himselfe to be well beloued and obeyed of his sub-
 iects, as wee see the King is. And besides the reasons aforesayd,
 he that is assailed may attend the comming of his enemies into
 his countrie with a great aduantage: for that he may famish the,
 and take from them the vse of all things appertayning vnto a
 Campe, without the daunger of hauing any lacke of victuall on
 his side. Moreouer, he may withstand the enterprises of his ene-
 mies, and impeach them to be executed, if the assailed haue bet-
 ter notice of the countrie and passages, than the assailants haue.

To

To bee brieſe, he may make great ſtoze of people in ſhort time: for there is no bodie but will be readie at a need to enter into battaile to defend his owne, and of theſe there will be found an hundred to one of thoſe that are content to leaue their owne dunghill, to the intent to make warres againſt other men. But let vs ſuppoſe that a Prince that is aſſayled in his owne countrie is ouerthrowne, every man knoweth well that he may recouer it againe in ſhort ſpace: becauſe that the vanquiſhed cannot bee ſo utterly ouerthrowne, but that there will a great many ſaue themſelues, becauſe of the retreat they haue ſo nere them: moreover, his ſuccour is not farre of to come vnto him. In ſomme, he that is aſſayled in his countrie can hazard little but part of his forces: but if the aſſailant bee ouerthrowne, he doth not only put his people in hazard, but alſo his ſtate, goods, and ſubiects; notwithstanding that he is out of his countrie: for being taken, he ſhall bee conſtrayned to remayne priſoner all the daies of his life, or to accompliſh the wil of the vanquiſher, and God knowes what conditions of peace are vſed to bee giuen vnto thoſe that are in hands if they make peace, and what raiſonmes they muſt pay for their deliuerie beſore that they bee let goe. Beſides all this daunger, into what inconuenience would the aſſailant his countrie fall into if he were ſlaine? Would it be poſſible that a battaile might be loſt vpon another man his ground, without the ſlaughter of all the beſt Captaines and Souldiers? Or that his countrie being aduertised of his death, & of the ouerthrow of his men, would not loſe all their hope to defend themſelues, if they ſhould be aſſayled vpon the heate of this trouble? All theſe things conſidered, I may conclude that he is in greater hazard that doth aſſaile his neighbour, then he that doth ſtay for to reſiſt him: as the coming of the aboue ſayd Emperour doth giue me occaſion to ſpeake, which is the fitteſt example that I may alleadge for this matter. And although that the ſayd Emperour did not taſte of the inconueniences that might haue iſſued of ſuch an enterpriſe; yet he was vpon the way to haue proued them all, if hee had ſtayed any thing longer in the king his countrie. And this is ſo well knowne, that there is no man that can ſpeake againſt it, how little iudgement ſoeuer he haue.

Concerning

Concerning this matter, I must here make aunswere vnto some that misliked at that time (as it was told me) that the sayd Lord Constable went not forwards towards the mountaynes to stoppe the passage of the Emperour: saying, that because of the difficultie of the passage, five hundred men had been sufficient to haue stopped ten thousand, and that therefore the one halfe of our people had been strong enough to haue repulsd our enemies: or if that the aforesayd Lord Constable had been forced, he might haue rettyed time enough vnto Auignon (if so bee that he would haue encamped there as he did) and that in so doing Prouince had not been destroyed. But those that vsed these words did not looke nere enough into the daungers that we might haue fallen into, if that their opinion had had place: for first of all it had not been wisely done to haue stayed to defend a passage agaynst such a power, as that was that came against vs: nor likewise for him to haue inclosed himselfe in a naughtie barren countrie, out of which he could not haue rettyed, and haue had safe going and comming at all times: except the place had been so large, & besides so fit for the attendants, that they might haue placed a great Camp easely, and there haue raunged their battailes in order to fight. If it had been so, their counsaile had been good, specially for if that the enemies would haue assailed them, they must haue done it in disorder, our men attending in their fort in good order to receiue them: but it is so (as it hath been tolde me) that there is no place in all that passage, wherein it was possible for vs to finde that commoditie, or to impeach the sayd assaylants from comming diuers waies vpon the backes of the attendants. Wherefore considering of the sodaine comming and of the great force of the sayd assaylants, who were maisters of the Sea, and so mightie vpon land, as euery man knoweth, that it had been in their powers to haue inclosed and assailed on euery side all those that should haue shewed their faces in those straights: it was better done of the sayd Lord to keepe himselfe farre from them, then to haue been there and to haue lodged himselfe in this daunger. Suppose that he might haue made a good retreat at all times; yet is it so that if he had been vniuen away by his enemies, his reputation had been

been lesse worthe by a great deale. And when as a Generall doth make his accompt to keepe a place or passage, and that his Souldiers do trust thereunto: if it happen afterwards that his enemies do enforce him to forsake it, it is sure that such a feare will come vpon them al at once, that it will be hard in long time after to put them in heart agayne, specially if there haue been some small number beaten: for that will make others that shall but heare of it to be as much a feard, as if they had carried part of the blowes themselues.

The Spanyards that kept the passage at Suze, albeit that they were a great number, yet the Lord Constable onerthrew them easie enough: so that thereby may be knowne that it is not so sure a match to stay and keepe these straights, specially the attendants not hauing many aduantages on their sides, and an enemy of great force in his teeth, which doth assaile him fiercely as the sayd Lord and his did. The sayd Spanyards might well haue perceiued the errour which they did commit in reposing all their trust in the keeping of the sayd passage: for being driuen away by force, they were so scared that hardly they durst looke behind them to see who perused them: and not only those that had been beaten were so astonied, but also they were so asfeard that besieged Pignerol, that they ranne away secretly by night, and all those that were of the league were asfeard, vntill such time as we ceased to pursue them. Moreover, the Lord Constable did wisely to leaue the straight, and to keepe himselfe at large: for by that meane he might haue made resistance vnto the sayd enemies, if that they had come any other way then that they did: which he could not haue done, if he had busied himselfe to keepe one passage expressly, for that it is not sayd that there are no more passages through the mountaines to enter into Fraunce then that which they came: nor likewise that they should haue lacked guides to haue shewed them some entrance: so that although that the sayd Lord had kept them, yet it had not been possible for him to haue kept all the other: and consequently to haue kept himselfe from being inclosed, or that his enemy should not haue been farre entred into the countrie, before that he could haue gotten vnto his refuge.

The

The Switzers in the yeare 1515. did craze vpon many passages in the mountaines, to the intent to keepe the King from entering into Italye: but so it was that they kept them not all, or it may be that they knew them not all, or that they would not deuide themselves into too many bands. It may be also thought, that the King would neuer haue passed his armie whereas they did passe: but bee it the one or the other, no bodie hindred them from looking vnto it. The sayd Lozde found one passage free, at which he and his passed, & it failed but little that he had not surprised a great companie within Coulny: yet they vnderstood of his comming in so good time, that they saued themselves in running away. I say that the retreat of the sayd Switzers, who made their accompt that the Frenchmen should not passe, was cause that many townes in Italy turned vnto vs incontinent: for hauing reposed all their trust in the Switzers promise, and finding immediatly after that our armie was within the countrie, and had passed contrarie vnto the opinion of all men, the Lombards were so discouraged, and in that extremitie that they knewe not vnto what sainct to bequeath themselves, or to take any other counsell, but to render themselves at the hearing of it: as (it may bee thought) the townes in the plaine countrey of Dauphine and Prouince would haue done, if our armie had beene placed to keepe the passages, and that the Emperour should haue driuen them away. To bee short, those that thought it to bee strange that our Campe was lodged so far from the mountaines, doe shew that they haue not greatly vsed this occupation. For a Generall ought neuer to stay in such like places, except he haue meanes (as I haue befoze said) to plant all his forces, & that there be no other place to passe farre from that hee doth keepe: & yet it is necessarie that the place where the Campe should stay, should haue all these commodities that are necessary for it, as wood, water, forrage, & the passages for victualers to come to the Campe free and open: and moreouer that the scituatio should be wholly as necessary as might be. A Lieutenant Generall lying neare vnto his enemies Campe, may sometimes bee importuned by his Souldiers to giue battaile: although that hee knoweth by the number of his people, or

by the situation of y^e place, or by some other reason, that it should be to his great disadvantage to fight. It may likewise come to passe, that when either necessitie or occasion giuen do constrain him to fight, that he shall then find his Souldiers discomfited, and not disposed to doe well : therefore it is necessarie to knowe howe to brydle their desire in the one case, and howe to animate them in the other. As concerning the first case, if perswasions would not suffice, there were no better remedye then to suffer some small companie to leese themselves at their owne desires, to the intent that the rest might giue him the more credit, which happened vnto Fabius Maximus vnlooked for: for when as his boast was desirous to fight against Anniball; Minutius the Captaine Generall of the Romanes Horsemen, being himselfe as forward in the matter as the rest, which although it was contrary vnto the opinion of the sayd Fabius being Dictator, yet proceeded so farr in this variance, that they deuided the armie: & the armie being deuided, Minutius presenting battaile vnto his enemies, who accepted it, had bin vtterlye ouerthrowne, had not the Dictator helped to succour him. Which the said Minutius and his Souldiers seeing, gouerned themselves euer after by the counsell of Fabius, as the most surest, without enterprising at any time after any thing of their owne heads. Sertorius, when he could not brydle the boldnes of his men, was content to suffer part of them to be well beaten: yet least that they should be vtterly ouerthrowne, he succoured them at their need, after which correction he was euer after better obeyed. Concerning the animating of Souldiers vnto the Combate, it is not amisse to make them to haue their enemies in contempt, and to account but little of them, by giuing them to vnderstand that their enemies speake reprochfull words of them, or to make shew to haue intelligence with some of the chiefe of their armie, and that a great part of them are corrupted, and also to lodge the Campe in some place where the Souldiers may see their enemies, and skirmish with them : because that those things which men doe dayly see, they doe acquaint themselves withall by little & little: but we must handle these skirmishes so wisely, that our Souldiers may alwaies haue the better hand of their enemies : for if they

*Quoniam Aulianus
magister*

they should haue the repulse at the first, it is a thing most certaine that their feare & want of courage would bee much more increased: and so it might happen quite contrarie vnto the Generall his meaning in approaching so neare, and skirmishing with his enemies, to wit, for the imbouldening of them, and not for the dismayning of them: wherefore a Generall must employ his studie, that nothing may take away his Souldiers harts from doing well, what accident soeuer might happen. And nothing may more discourage them then to bee beaten at the first; and therefore all the remedie that I can see in this matter, is so to proceed against his enemies, that his may haue the better hand of them at their first arriual, if it be possible. And to doe this, he ought not to skirmish at all with his enemies, but to keepe his men within his fort, vntill that hee see an aduantage, and seeing the aduantage manifestly, that then they might issue out of the forte vpon their enemies, & vanquish them. A Lieutenant Generall may likewise make shew that hee is angrie with his people, and may make vnto them some oration of purpose, wherein he may reprove them for the little valor that is in them: and to make them ashamed, he might say that hee would fight with his enemies although he should bee left all alone, or if hee had but such and such to follow him: and this may bee an occasion that the one to be accounted of no lesse estimation then the other, will present themselves: and the other to maintaine their reputation, will shew themselves the readier to come vnto the Combate.

Caesar helped himselfe by this meanes in Fraunce, his souldiers being afraid of the Almaines, to make them to fight resolutely, and bee the better serued of them in the Battaille. Souldiers ought neuer to bee suffered to send anye of their booties, or of their owne goods home vnto their houses, or out of the Campe, vntill such time as the warre bee ended: to the intent that they might knowe, that although in running awaye they might saue their liues, yet they could not saue their goods: the loue whereof will bee an occasion to make them to fight as resolutely, as the daunger of the loosing of their liues. And as touching the perswading and diswading of a small

number to doe any thing, is a thing easie ynough to be done: for that if they will not obey the Lieutenant Generall his words, he may vse his authoritie and force: but the greatest difficultie is, when as it shall be expedient to remoue a multitude from an euill opinion, which might be contrary vnto their common welfare, or vnto his will: in which case for that he may but vse persuasion, he must doe it publikely in the hearing of all his Souldiers, because the matter dooth touch them all: & for this cause good Captaines ought to be good Orators: for that not knowing how to exhort a whole armie, it will be hard to do any thing ought worthe. But at this day we make no great accompt of it, and yet it is a thing so necessarie, that to doe well without it is almost a thing impossible: I meane, for to doe anye act of importance. Who so would read the life of Alexander the great, & of many other Princes and Chieftes that haue bin heretofore, he should finde that it hath oft times beene needfull for them to speake publikely vnto their armies, and to vse exhortations vnto them, when as they would haue any great matter doone: for many times there maye accidents happen in an armie, by meanes whereof it might be ouerthrowne if the Generall could not play the Orator, or if hee should not speake vnto them publikely, as the auncient Chieftes were accustomed to doe, the reason is, that speech hath manye and sundrye effects in it selfe: for it taketh away feare, it enflameth the hearts of Souldiers; it maketh them the more firme and resolute for the Combate; it discouereth deceits; it promiseth recompence; it sheweth danger and the meane to auoide them; it repproueth, entreatech, exhorteth, filleth full of hope, praiseth and blameth: and in sum; a Lieutenant Generall may by his speech doe all those things, wherewith mens passions are either mortified or kindled. Wherefore if the King were determined to maintayne his first Legionaries, or to leaue other, after the maner spoken of in the first booke, or a better, he should comaund his Colonels to accustome theselues to speake publikely to their souldiers, that they might bee accustomed to heare them to speake, to the intent that they should not finde it strange to come together vnto the declaration that their Lieutenant Generall would make them, whensoever they

*Exhortation
not to pay for
Communion*

*A Generall
should know how
to incite & stay
his passions
by his speech*

they should be called thereunto by his Trumpet. Wherefore the reuerence that men had vnto religion, was much worthe to keepe Souldiers in feare and obedience, and likewise the othe whith they made when they were led into the field: for then those that committed any offence, or those that did contrary vnto their othes and promises, were not so greatly threatened to incur corporal paines, which equitie and lawe ordeined: as they were threatened that they should fall into the indignation of the gods whom they worshipped, which being mingled with other superstitions, was oftentimes an occasion that the Chieftes who were at that time, came more easily vnto the end of their enterprises: and at this day it would doe no lesse, if so be that God were feared better then hee is, and that wee made a greater account of Christian religion then we doe. Sertorius did make his Souldiers to beleue that a tame Deere which he had, did aduertise him of all things touching the pleasure of the gods, which was cause that the Spaniards gaue too great credit vnto his words: specially for that they beleued that he knew their newes secretly before that they did themselves, and as for those things that were doone farre from the Campe, and those things that hee tooke in hande with an assurance to bring to passe, hee made shew that he vnderstood them by the sayd beast. Silla said that he had intelligence by an Image that he had out of the Temple of Apollo in Delphos, which hee carried alwayes in his bosome when he entered into Battaille. In the time of King Charles the seauenth, in the warres which he had with the Englishmen, was Iahane the maiden of Fraunce esteemed to bee a diuine person, and euery one affirmed that she was sent from God: but some will say it was the King that inuented this policie, to encourage the Frenchmen, giuing them to vnderstand that God had a care of the realme, and therewithall the King tooke great paines that the sayde Iahane might bee found veritable in her words, and that the most part of her enterprises might come to good effect, for the execution whereof shee armed hir selfe, and was alwaies amongst the knights in the combate. The Frenchmen were so encouraged through the trust that they had therein that from thenceforth the Englishmens force did diminish, and

*Superstition
not any way*

seruicing

their's did augment. Whereouer there may bee meanes found to
 make Souldiers to make but little accompt of their enemies,
 which to doe Agesilaus King of the Lacedemonians shewed
 vnto his Souldiers certaine Persians naked, to the intent that
 they seeing the bodies of the saide Persians white and delicate,
 should haue no occasion to feare them, but to esteeme of them
 as softe and effeminate people. Diuers good Captaines haue
 hether to made their Souldiers to fight through verie force,
 taking from them all the hope that they might haue to saue
 themselves if they should breake, or seeke to escape otherwise
 then by the victorie. Agathocles helped himselfe by this means
 in Affrike, and it is also the most surest to make Souldiers re-
 solute: which resolution will bee augmented through the confi-
 dence that they haue to get the victorie, & also through the loue
 that they doe beare vnto their Captaine Generall, & vnto their
 Prince: which confidence proceedeth of that they are better ar-
 med, or better ranged, then their enemies, and of their getting of
 some battaile of fresh memorie, and like wise of the good opinion
 that they haue of their captaine Generall. As for the loue which
 they do beare vnto their naturall Prince & country, it is nature
 that is cause of it, as vertue is cause of the affection that Soul-
 diers doe beare vnto their Captaine Generall which may doe
 much more in this matter, then giftes or any other thing: and
 although that a man may vse other meanes to win the hearts of
 men of war: yet the reputation that a Generall Chiefe hath to
 be a valiant & good man, passeth all other that may be thought
 vpon. Concerning the constraining of an armie to fight against
 their wils, may be in diuers manners: notwithstanding that is
 the greatest which constraineth an armie to vanquish or to die in
 the field, which is a fit remedie for those, who fight not for love
 that they do beare vnto the Prince that dooth pay them: nor for
 the confidence that they haue in their Generall. Of which sort
 are all the mercenaries properly, who would neuer giue one on-
 ly thrust with a Pike, if they should not be forced thereto, or
 that it were not too great a shame for them not to do it, as for any
 other cause they will neuer put themselves in danger: wherefore
 it is most certaine, that the seruice of those who fight for the
 loue

Ioue of their naturall Lorde, and their countrie is much better and more assured: for besides this bonde of amitie, they shall be renowned to bee valiant men, which is of no lesse value with them, then force and constraint is with the other.

The order that a Lieutenant ought to keepe in martching through the enemies countrie: and the maner howe to range a square Battailon with foure faces, leauing an emptie place in the midst of it.

The 4. Chapter.

I haue hēertofoze spoken of the maner that an hoast ought to keepe in giuing of a battaile, and after what maner it ought to be gouerned, hauing their enemies harde by them: and also the manner how to vanquish them. Howeuer I haue spoken of many circumstances appertinent to this busines, wholly according vnto the accidents that might happen before the giuing of a battaile, in fighting, after the vanquishing of an enemye, or the receiuing of an ouerthrow: & as I thinke I haue said so much therein, that it were now time to change purpose, and to shewe how foure such Legions as these which I haue ordained, ought to be ranged in traueling (although no enemies be seene) when as a Lieutenant Generall that hath foure such legions in charge, is continually in doubt to be assaulted: which may happen when as he marcheth through his enemies country, or through a countrie suspect. First of all we must vnderstand that the Romanes armie being in this case, did alwaies send out certaine troopes of Horsemen far before their battailes, for to discouer the waies; and after them marched the right pointe of their Battailon in order ready to fight, & at the taile of it marched all the baggage of the same point. After that marched another Legion and their baggage behinde them, and afterward the thirde Legion & their baggage, & last of all the left point & their baggage at their tailes, behind which baggage marched all the horsemen: & this maner did the said Romans ordinarily vse in going through the countrie: & if the hoast were assailed either before or behinde, they caused their

theyr baggage and carriage to be retired all at once either vpon
 the left side or vpon the right side, as came best to hande, and
 when the Souloiers and place were free of all incumbrances,
 the Battailles turned their faces towardes that side that their
 enemies came to assault them on. And if so bee that they were
 assailed vpon one of the flankes, they put their baggage one
 the other side, and made head vnto their enemyes. He thinkes
 that this manner of marching through an enemye his countrey,
 should be the best that might be imitated in this case: we might
 likewise send out before on euery side a good number of Hargo-
 letiers and Harquebustiers a Horsebacke to discover the wayes
 round about our host, & send part of our light Horsemen to fol-
 low the said Hargoletiers and Harquebustiers somewhat nere to
 succour them, if they should haue anye encounter; the battailles
 (as is aforesaid) marching in good order with their ranks at
 large, so that the way were broad ynough, or at the least that in
 euery ranke should be ten mē. As for to marche at length being
 in an enemies countrey, is an euill counsell. The Legions ought
 euery one to march by themselves, with their cariages at their
 backes, after the maner of the Romanes. And for that there are
 two sorts of baggage, to wit, one that pertaineth vnto the Sol-
 diers particularly, and the cariages which doe appertaine vnto
 the common vse, as the prouision of victuals, armes, & Ordnance;
 it would not bee amisse to deuide the sayd carriage into foure
 parts, and to giue vnto each legion besides their particular bag-
 gage, the one fourth part of the publike cariages. Moreouer it
 would be well done to deuide the Ordnance into fower partes
 if it were but to auoyde the enuie that would bee amongst men
 of warre, if the one part of the armie should haue it in charge
 and the other not, or if the one should haue more then the other.
 And likewise the vnarmed people ought to be deuided equally,
 such as Wyponers, Carters, Victualers, men of occupation, and
 other poore people that do follow a Campe to get their liuinge:
 to the intent that euery number of armed men might haue suff-
 ly their charge, that the one should not be more aduantaged and
 charged then the other. But when as it dooth happen that an
 hoste doth trauaile through a countrey that is not onely suspec-
 ted:

ted: but also is such an enemy as the sayde Hoaste dooth looke euerye howe to bee assailed, then the forme of marching before spoken of may be altered, and the hoast ranged in another order, which order should bee so good, that neither the people of the Countrey, or an enemy his army might at any time finde the Lieutenant Generall, nor his battailes in disorder, in any one point: nor likewise giue him any repulse, or to doe any damage vnto his men. To auoide the danger of these suddaine assaults which are made by stealth, the auncient Chieffes, were accustomed to march with their hostes square, not that they were altogether square: but they were ranged with foure faces, and by that meanes they marched through their enemy his Countrey, being ready to defend themselves, whensoever that they should bee assaulted, and used no other forme, except they were constrained to fight with their Battaille ranged, or that they were charged with too great a force of enemies. This manner of marching will I vse in this place, and will shew how to order foure Legions after this manner, by immitating of whole example a greater army may bee conducted, to march through out all Countries, without danger of enemies, and to make head one what part soeuer that it should be assailed. The Battailles must bee ranged in suche sort, that the first Legion must be at the right corner of the said square, and the Hastaries of this Legion, should occupie their accustomed place towards the east: (for it shalbe supposed, that they do march toward the east) and afterward the Princes and Triaries must place themselves towards the South: so that they and the said Hastaries shall make a right angle which is one fourth part of a quadrant.

The seconde Legion shalbe placed vpon the left corner and the Hastaries of the saide Legion, shalbe ranged on the east part, as the Hastaries of the first Legion: so that the Hastaries of these two legions, shall make the front of the said square vpon the east side, leauing a space of ten paces distant betwixt the saide two legions. The Princes and Triaries of the second legion must bee ranged on the north side, who being ioyned vnto their Hastaries, shall make another angle, and by that meanes, these two legions are the one halfe of the quadrant.

and to finishe it, the third Legion must bee raunged behinde the first, in suche sort, that the Hastaries of that legion shall make the one halfe of the angle towardes the West, to shew their faces that way if it should be needfull: and their Princes and Triaries, shall make the other halfe of the corner, and shall haue their faces towardes the South, if it should be needfull, and shall ioyne vnto the Princes and Triaries of the first Legion: reseruing the space that ought to be left betwixt them, which shall be ten paces as is aforesaide: and these spaces shall likewise be obserued betwixt the people, and the other Legions, to the intent that they do not touch one another: and there must bee a regard had, that those spaces may be kept. The fourth Legion shall be raunged behind the second, placing the Hastaries on the west side, and the Princes, and Triaries on the north: so that the Hastaries of the first and second Legions, shall make the front, and the Hastaries of the third and fourth shall make the taile. The Princes and Triaries of the first & third Legions, shall make the right side, & the Princes and Triaries of the second and fourth, shall make the left side: & these two said sides, when neede requireth, shall turne the faces towards their two Regions, to wit, those vpon the right side towards the South, & those on the left side towards the North.

All which fower Legions shall make one quadrant, not that it shall be perfectly square, forasmuch as it shall be a little more in length then in breadth, for from the front vnto the taile, there shall be a more space left, then from the one side vnto the other, which square or quadrant shall be ordered in such sort, that the spaces which I haue said, shall be left betwixt the bandes in the front, when they are in their first order, should likewise be left now: & the distance from the one rank to the other, should be alwaies kept according vnto the forme of the Hastaries, and as I haue said before. By this meanes, the place that this square battaile wil occupy, may haue in breadth 470. paces, and 590. in length,

Within the saide battaile, there shall be an emptye space, which shall be in length, 470. paces, and in breadth 340. and within the same place, shall the fower Colonels be placed, to witte the Colonell of the first Legion, in the right corner of the front, and the Colonell of the second Legion, within the corner of the
second

seconde Legion : and the others likewise within the corner of their Legions with their garde, to the intent, that euery man might be neere, and haue an eie to ouer looke his people. The Lieutenant Generall may be within this emptie place, right against the space which is betwixt the Hastaries of the two Legions in the front, accompanied with his garde, and with those that doe follow his Cornet. The Pikes of the Flanks may be raunged within the said emptie place ioyning vnto their bands, and the Parquetiers of the flanks by them, who shall leaue the spaces betwixt the bandes, as the bandes them selues do. As for the Captaines, and other members and officers, they shall bee in their places appointed them before, and the forlorne hope shall be without vpon the fower sides of the Battaille, in their order, or they may bee with in : and likewise the baggage and carriage shall be within the emptie place, which the fower Legions doe make. And the Ordnance may march alongest the Flanks, or at the heade and taile. The Peeces vpon the Flanks, may march one after another: but those in the front and at the taile shall march one by another, for other wise, they could not helpe them selues with it, when it shall be needfull, nor easily to defend it, if it should be assaulted.

Concerning the Horsemen, the Parquetiers, and the Harquebutiers, must bee raunged on euery side, a good way off, that the light horsemen might be betwixt them and the men of arms, and that the men of armes might be at the least, fifty paces from the battaille, raunged vpon the fower ancomminges, by simple Decuries, or double or more, to witte, one of the companies of the first Legion shall be at the front, and the other vpon the right Flanke, the one of the companies of the second legion, should be likewise at the front of the battaille before the saide legion, & the other vpon the left Flank: & the companies of the other two legions should be likewise behinde, and vpon the Flanks eache of them by the legion they belong vnto. One thing a Lieutenant Generall must note in this place, for a generall rule, y is, that as often as he shall range his army for to fight, he take heed, not to range his horsemen before his battails, except he do place them so far of, y being repulled, they may haue space inough to retire beside y footmen: for other wise hee might ouerrune them:

Or els he must leaue many spaces in the front of the said footemen, to the intent that the horsemen might returne with in them, without breaking or disordering their ranks. And of this aduertisement, hee ought to make no small account. For manie Chieffes which hertofore haue not regarded it, haue found them selues deceiued, and their people haue bene broken, and mingled one among another, when as their horsemen haue bene repulled by their enemies.

Our sower Legions beeing ordered in that fourme that I haue spoken off, may put them selues forward to marche vpon the way, when as it shall please them, and may keepe the said order going a good pace. I do not say that in traueiling, not being troubled by an enemy, that they should alwaies keepe the ranks of their Hastaries so neer togethernor y^e souldiers of the, Princes & Triaries, likewise as I haue spoken before: for they could not carry their pikes vpon their shoulders, but should be constrained to beare them right by an end, for it would be impossible to carry them other wise, because of the little space betwixt the ranks. But my meaning is, that when as they would resist the assault of their enemies, that then they should ioyne togeather in suche order as is spoken of. And if so bee, that their enemies did but skirmish with them, to trouble them vpon the way, & notwithstanding were alwaies ready to assault them, and that the sower Legions, would winne ground and not fight: in suche a case, the Souldiers must carrie their pikes right by, although it be more painefull: for the necessitie, which they should haue to marche close togeather, would ease their paines. But if that they should not bee enforced, there would bee no daunger, if the Hastaries ranks should follow one another at more scope, and that the princes and Triaries should occupie more ground in length to co. t. h their pikes, and to marche at more ease: for the horsemen and the foxlorne hope which doe enuiron this square battaile, would be sufficient inough to stay the assaulters, untill such time as the battaile were brought neere together into their order, for their wold be no more to doe, but stay the first ranks, & to cause the others to come forward neerer them. Moreover, it is not to be doubted, that people who assault without keeping
order

order and ranke, should euer haue the courage and good will to appoche them that are well ordered and ranked within the length of a Pike, nor the Harquebussiers within the shotte of a Harquebusse, except they had some aduantage of ground, as if it were that these Legions kept the lower ground and their enemies the higher, or that there were some great riuer betwixte them: my meaning is that this order is onely for a plaine countrey, for in troublesome passages it is not good, but when as they should passe neare or betwixte mountaines, the plaine being large enough to receaue them in this order: the remedy must be to get the highest ground, and driue away their enemies. For otherwise although that the Legions should keepe the forme of a square Battaille, or of Battailons ranged by themselves, I would neuer be of opinion that they should put themselves into straight passages, except that they were maisters of the higher ground. The Lord of Montpezat whē he returned into Fraunce with the bands that he had vnder him at Fossar, being constrained to take his way through the valley of Pratgella, the entrey into which is most difficill, seeing that the mountaines were held by the people of the countrey, and certaiue men of warre which were ioynd with them, and that he was not entred farre within the sayde mountaines, without the losse of a certaine number of his people, which were slaine and maimed by theyr enemies, who kept themselves in the higher ground, being there placed to haue doone him mischief enough, if it had not bene speedily looked into: the sayd Lord sent immediatly part of his people vnder the charge of Mounseieur Dambres, to get the higher ground, to driue away his enemies, which thing those that were sent did so well execute, marching alwayes vpon the higher ground on the winges of his Battailes; that there was not a Frenchman hurt afterwarde, whereas before they were a marke for their enemies to shoote at: it is all the remedye that may bee vled in suche lyke passages. But if it were in a plaine, Horsemen with the helpe of Harquebussiers, may keepe an enemy farre off, without hindering of the Battailes in loosing of theyr time, for that Horsemen may maintaine a skirmish with an enemy, winning ground alwaies, not running far from
the

the battaile, nor forgetting themselves otherwise. True it is, that in marching in this order square, it were necessary that the Country should be even & open, that the battail might alwaies continew as it was ordered: and therfore it should be necessary to haue a great number of Pioners, to make the way plain & open, wheras it should passe, & the said Pioners might be defended by the Hargoletiers, and other discouersers, if their enemies were not able to repulse them: but if so be that their enemies were of force sufficient to repulse the saide discouersers: the other horsemen following at their backs, would relieue them, or if it came to the worst, the Pioners might retire within the battailes, and the horsemen vnto the flanks, if they could not stay their enemies otherwise: for which enemies there neede no sort of this order of marching be changed, except that they were so great a number that they might assail these Legions ranked in battaile: but this assault cannot be done so suddainely, but that the Generall shall haue time inough to retire the Pioners, & to range his people in order to giue battaile: for as he in marching on his way, doth go but an ordinary pace, so an enemy in comming towards him doth march but an ordinary pace: so that the one aswell as the other, doe goe so leasurelie, that they shall alwaies haue leasure inough to provide on both sides. Besides the discouersers who are abroad, will aduertise the said Generall time inough: & then hee may bring the Legions into the same order that is taught in the first booke: and if he be assailed vpon the front, he may turn the mouth of the Cannon, towards his enemies, and put the horsemen vpon the wings, and cause the third Legion to range themselves in their first order and accustomed place, and the fourth likewise: and the Princes and Triaries of each Legion to take their places.

In the meane while, the ordnance may play their partes, and the foxlorne hope with the Harquebussiers a horsebacke, and hargoletiers many likewise doe theirs. The Baggage must be retired behind the Legion with the Pioners, and the vnarmed men, who may make themselves strong with wagons, coffers, packes, and other carriages, with al which, they may entrench themselves, if so be that they had no strong place neere to retire vnto

unto, or time to fortifie. Yet if leasure would serue, it would be better to stay and to make some place strong before the battail, then to hazarde a battaille before a Campe were made to retye unto if need were. And if so bee that the said enemy would assault these Legions behinde, the Lieutenant Generall must make the head of the Battailons that way, or towards any other part that he looketh to be assaulted vpon. And if so be that the said enemy should assault him vppon two sides, and that hee were of force inough to doe it; this Generall ought to take Souldiers from the other two sides that are not assaulted, to strengthen those that are assaulted, or els hee must vse another manner of order, to witte, to raunge the Princes and Triaries all in one front, or to do otherwise, that is in euerie Legion to retye one band of Hastaries, and to place it with another band of Princes, and that those two bands should raunge themselves in 10. rankes at the backes of the said Hastaries: and the other two bandes of Princes, should retye backwards to be ranged with the Triaries: so that at the front they should be sower bandes, and at the taile as many, and the two bands in the midst shoulde stretch out their rankes, and shoulde occupie asmuche ground in breadth as the other sower, and this must bee doone throughout all Legions: and so their would be two fronts well furnished, and the Flankes also would bee sufficient inough of them selues, besides the Pikes of the Flankes for to helpe them. And when as the front were broken they might retire vnto the two bands in the midst to make an enemy to fight againe with them.

I haue spoken before of these two formes, and therefore to returne to my matter: I saye that if the Generall of our enemies Armie shoulde assaile these our asofeslayde sower Legions vppon two or thre partes: that eyther hee or wee were not bee thought wise. For if a Generall Chiefe bee wise, hee will neuer put hym selfe into a place where an enemy maye assaile hym with a great power vppon so many sides, or partes.

For so it is, that hee that will hurt another man, and bee sure to take no hurt hym selfe, but deale vppon the
advantage

aduantage, must needs haue vpon euery side, that hee would assault his enemy, asmuch people, or very neer asmuch, as his said enemy hath in all his: if so be then that our Generall should be so euill aduised, as to enter into a Prince his Countrie, his enemy, who had three or fower times as many Souldiers as himselfe, and should take any hurt: there were no reason, but that he should blame his owne lacke of vnderstanding, & not put the fault in his ill lucke. But let vs put case, that the General of our enemies host, hath but a fewe Souldiers more then wee haue: and not withstanding, thinking to put vs into disorder, he chargeth vs in diuers places: you may say then, that the folly is his, and the aduantage is ours: As for to assaile our fower legions, in which of the fourmes abovesaid soeuer they should bee raunged, hee shalbe forced to make his battailes so thinne and small, that our armie might easilie resist the one, and beat the other, and by that meanes get the victorie.

Our Generall might also (if he thought it good) raunge his Legions two and two together, or euery one a part, in manner of a square, & leaue a place empty in the midst, which he might doo after this maner: that is, that one Legion should make the front with his Hastaries, & the left flank with his Princes and Triaries, and that the other legion should make the tail with his Hastaries, and the right flank with his Princes and Triaries, and so these two Legions should occupie 230. paces in breadth, and 350. in length: and the square that should be left empty in the midst, should haue 110. paces in breadth, and 230 in length. Touching the raunging of these legions by themselves, three bandes of Hastaries might make the fronte, and the other two should be placed, one band vpon the one flank, and the other Bande vpon the other flank. Likewise two bandes of the Princes, might raunge themselves vpon the flanks behind the other two bandes of the said Hastaries in a right line, & the third band should make the taile with the Triaries: for by that means the space that one legion so ordered would occupie, might bee 136. paces in breadth, and 219. in length: the space which is left empty in the midst, should haue by this reckoning 16. paces in breadth, and 99. in length.

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This forme might serue, as often as it should bee necessarie that the Legions should march through the countrie one after another, or one alone, not being accompanied with some good number of horsemen, if so be that they would be provided against the surprises and sodaine assaults of their enemies, & haue their sicke and hurt men, and also their baggage out of daunger of the sayd enemies. For that this manner of marching doth require that the way where it should passe should be large and euen, and is also inuented but to withstand people that should assaile it without keeping order, and at vnwares, to the intent to put those that trauell into disorder, if they could, or at the least to make their hands with the baggage: the chiefeest remedie (as I haue aboue said) is to raunge the Souldiers in such order that they might defend themselves on euery side: and also haue their baggage in a sure place, for otherwise it would not be possible to defend it so well if it should bee without the battaile, but that in marching and staying there might be much lost: wherefore this order of marching, for doubt of our enemies whom we see not, is most necessarie. And it would bee a most profitable thing to accustome our Legionaries to put themselves together, and to march in this order. And vpon the way to take them out of this order, and raunge them according vnto their first manner of battaile, or like vnto the others which we haue shewed: and immediately to bring them againe into the order of marching that is here spoken of. Moreover, to cause them to make the tayle of their battailes the head, and the head the tayle: and afterwards to make of either of the two flankes sometimes the one, and sometime the other. This done, they may then be ranged againe in their first order: and it shal be necessarie to exercise them often in these exercises, if we will haue them to be right good and expert Souldiers: for Militarie discipline is nothing else but to know how to begin and to execute the things aboue sayd: wherein all Captaines and others that haue charge of the gouernment of Souldiers ought to take paines. And I beleue that an host so ordered, should bee alwaies the vanquisher, and could neuer at any time bee broken and vanquished. If so bee that the formes aforesayd do seeme any thing hard, it is most certaine

that the difficultie will become easie enough by meanes of exercise. Moreover, who so doth knowe how to raunge an hoast and to order them in these formes, shall knowe the easier how to raunge and order an hoast in others, which are not altogether so hard.

The order that a Lieutenant Generall ought to vse for the victualling of his armie : and how the auncient Chieffes did vse their booties, with diuers meanes that a Generall may vse to endamage his enemies, and to keepe himselfe from surprise.

The 5. Chapter.



Lieutenant Generall ought to haue a care so to prouide for his hoast, & it might be free of all incombzances as might bee possible, and ought to looke into all those causes that might hinder the compassing of his enterprises. Amongst all which, there is none greater then this: to weet, to keepe a Camp furnished with bread and wine. The auncient Chieffes were not carefull for wine : for when the wine fayled them, they dranke water mingled with a little vineger to giue it colour and sauour. And amongst their prouisions for their hoasts, there were no speeches made of wine, but only to haue water and vineger. Moreover, the auncient Souldiers had not their bread baked in ouens, as we haue at this instant euery where, but baked cakes themselves of a certaine quantitie of meale that was deliuered vnto them day by day, out of the store, and besides that, a certaine quantitie of larde; and this was all : so that the victualls whereof the auncient Chieffes made their prouision for the sustentation of a Campe, was only meale, vineger, and lard for the Souldiers, and barley for the horses. They had moreover a great number of cattell both great and small, that followed their Campes; which cattell (for that it needed not to be carted or carried, nor likewise was fed with any thing that was carried) was not chargeable, nor troublesome vnto an armie: which was the occasion in times past that their armies went many iournies through

through deserts and solitarie places, without lacke of victualls, for that they liued of victuall that might easely follow a Camp.

The Turke his Souldiers neede no wine, because that their lawe doth forbid them to drinke it, and also they go long without eating bread, if so be that they may haue water and rice, and seldome it is that they do suffer want: for they carrie ordinarilie sakes full of powdered flesh minsed so fine, that it seemeth to be a powder, and to eat this powdered flesh, they take but a little at a meale, and temper it in warme water, and afterward sup it vp, and so doe the sayd Turkes liue. Moreover, if they haue great want of victuall, the said flesh being spent, they do let their horses blood: for they are almost all horsemen, and do liue certaine daies with this blood. And if so be that the famine doe too much oppresse them, they do kill their horses, and eat them before they do forsake to do their Prince loyall seruice, and the vttermost of their power; which our delicate Souldiers will not do: for they will very hardly serue one day without they bee in wine vp to the eares, or full crammed readie to burst: but when I say our Souldiers, I meane those that are at this instant, but not those that might bee leuied in Fraunce: for that they might easely be made temperate enough, so that y^e Chieftes themselves would giue them example, and that they were not so much giuen vnto disordinate eating and drinking as they are. The Scotchmen (as sayth Froisard) haue a very good manner to liue in time of warre: for first of all they do carrie no prouision of bread and wine with them. Moreover, they content themselues long time, so that they may haue flesh but halfe sodden, which they do eat very well without bread, and drinke water. And moreover, they are not troubled with the carrying of kettles or pannes, because that they do seethe their flesh in the skinnies of beastes when they haue slayed them: nor haue no care to carrie prouision with them, because they are sure to finde in the countrie where they do pretend to make warre. One thing they haue care of, that is, to carrie a plate of yron, and a bagge of meale, to the intent that when they feeble their stomackes weake and feeble with the eating of too much rawe flesh, they might comfort them with cakes, which they do make after this manner. They tem-

*custome of
the Turke*

per a little meale in a dish, and cast their plate into the fire, and when the plate is hot enough, they do make little cakes of their paste, and bake them vpon the sayd plate: and by this meanes they do make great iournies to surprize their neighbours, without rumour of their enterprises, and without any great cost. As for vs Frenchmen, we will haue a regard not to liue so soberly what need forer there were: for hardly wil we one houre indure the lacke of good wine or good bread, nor of any other daintie, no more then if we were at home in our owne houses, and that euery man were of abilitie to haue all that he desired. And therfore our armies are quickly famished, as well for that it is hard to make prouision for many daies of so many things as wee do require, as also for the meruelous spople that are made of our prouisions when we haue them. Wherefore we must reforme our hoasts after a new manner, that is, neuer to suffer men of warre to eate other bread then that they should bake themselues. And in so doing, it should be necessarie to furnish the sayd Souldiers, euery man with a quantitie of meale, whether it were by gift, or in rebating it vpon their wages. As for wine, the General should not trouble himselfe to prouide any, nor impeach the victuallers from bringing it aboundantly, and yet he should vse no great diligence on his part to cause any to be brought vnto the Camp. As for the other prouisions, they may bee vsed altogether according vnto the auncient manner. This doing, all well considered, you shall finde that a Lieutenant Generall shall free his armie of a most great charge, and ease himselfe of a great burthen. And to the intent that our Legionaries should finde the want of victualls to bee the lesse straunge vnto them, if that they should lacke at any time, and that they might passe at a neede without wine, and choyse of meates: I am of opinion, that in going and returning from their musters they should be forbidden to drinke wine, and to eate bread baked in an ouen, and likewise the eating of flesh, except lard, whereof only I would cause prouision to be made at the places where they should passe & lodge: and for the rest they should carrie vpon their backs as much meale as should serue them during the voyadge, if that they would eate: for other prouision I would make them none of any thing.

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Though this order the Souldiers would learne to suffer all necessities at a need, the countrie should be eased, and the Souldiers would not bee so readie to make quarrels and debates amongst themselves as they are, when they haue great abundance of victualls. To treat of the booties that are gotten after the winning of a battaile, or in going through an enemy his countrie, or in getting any towne by assault, or by the ransoming of the towne or countrie where an armie doth passe, and for prisoners that may bee taken: first it shall not bee amisse to examine how the auncient Chieffes did gouerne their armies in the like busines. And consider what is the cause that the warres at these daies do aswell impouerish the Princes that are vanquishers, as those which are vanquished: for that if the one do lose honoꝝ, and any part of his lands, the other doth spend his treasure, and his goods: which was not so in times past, because that the vanquisher enriched himselfe alwaies with the goods and spoiles of his enemies, and at this time we do make no such account of the booties which we do get as they did then: but all is abandoned vnto the Souldiers, which is cause of two great disorders: the one is that which I haue spoken of touching the impourishing of a Prince; and the other is, that the Souldiers do become the more couetous to get, and lesse carefull to keepe the orders of the warres. For many times it hath been seen that the couetousnesse of the pillage hath ouerthrowne the vanquisher: as happened vnto the Frenchmen at Guyngeate, where the victorie was wholly ours, if the French Archers had not giuen themselves vnto pillage; which they payd for dearely, for they lost all their lines there.

The Romanes who without doubt haue been the maisters of this exercise, did prouide wisely for these two inconueniences: for it was ordayned amongst them that the bootie that was gotten, should appertaine vnto the common vse, and that the Consull should distribute it as he thought good in the name of the Senate and people. And in this case they had Questors, which were as we would say Treasourers, into whose hands were assigned all the booties, and ransomes that were made: wherewithall the Consull did helpe to pay his Souldiers, to succour

sicke and hurt men, and to helpe to support the other charges of the hoast. But yet the Consull might suffer his men to ransacke, and they did it sometimes; but it neuer caused any disorder: for that their enemies hoast being ouerthrowne, al the spoyle was placed in the middest of the armie, and afterward it was distributed vnto euery man according vnto his qualitie and vertue: which manner was cause that the Souldiers gaue themselves vnto the fight, and not vnto pillage: and also that the ordinarie bands raunged in the bodie of the Battailon, did not pursue those that fled, but continued fast in their ranks without daunger: for the light armed men only had the charge to followe the victorie; so that if the bootie should haue appertayned vnto those that did first gather it by, it had not been possible nor agreeing vnto equitie to haue kept the battailons in order, & haue giuen others libertie to make their profite. By this meanes the common treasure augmented merueilously, and that was the occasion that a Consull carried so much treasure at his triumph, hauing gathered it together of his booties and ransomes. The Romanes did also another thing with great consideration, that was, that the one third part of the wages that they gaue monthly vnto euery Souldier, was deliuered into the hands of the Ensigne-bearer, which he might not render vnto them agayne vntill such time as the warres were finished. And this did they, being thereunto moued by two reasons, the one was to the intent that the Souldiers might haue some profite of their wages: (for being yong men, and without care, the more goods that they had, the more they spent without neede) the other reason was, that the Souldiers should fight the more resolutely, & with the better wills defend him that had their goods in keeping. So that by this meanes they became rich and valiant, which manner we must vse, and also the others before spoken of, if we will reduce the exercise of the warres into it first estate. But to returne to speake of the office of a Generall that would surely conduct an armie marching through an enemy his countrie from place to place: because that sometimes there may happen many accidentes wherein there are great danger: which to withstand, me thinke that it were requisite þ a Lieutenant Generall should
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imploy his wittes and his Souldiers their vertues: & therefore it shalbe necessarie to speake somewhat thereof. Wherefore, I say that as often as a Lieutenant Generall doth trauell with a great companie or a small, that aboue al things he ought to provide for the sodaine assaults, and ambushes of his enemies, into which he may fall two manner of waies: for either he falleth therein of himselfe in traauailing, or else he is entised thereunto by his enemies, for lacke of taking heed. To withstand the first manner, it shalbe needfull to send out two or thre troopes of discoueries befoze. The first troope ought to be but a small number to runne on the one side & the other to discouer. The second should be of a reasonable force to back them, if they should be assailed. And the third ought to be stronger then the second, for to resist a good force of their enemies, if that they did meet them in the teeth. And how much the sifter the countrie were for ambushes, as full of woods, hills, and such like; so much the greater should the troopes of the discouersers be: for ambushes are most commonly made in a wood, or behind a hill, & sometimes in caues and ditches, alongst the banks of riuers, if they be high enough, sometimes in ballies and houses, and behinde olde walls. In briefe, ambushes may be laid in all places how little couered soeuer they be: specially for that footmen may lie down flat vpon the ground to be the lesse perceiued. But as an ambush where there is no heed taken may do great hurt: so being provided for & discouered it can do nothing at all. The foules of the ayre haue oftentimes discouered ambushes, and so likewise hath the dust of the ground discouered the comming of an enemy, because of the dust which an armie doth cause to rise in traauailing. Paulus Emelius Consull of Rome, being to passe through a forrest with his men neere vnto a water, seeing a farre of that many foule rose vpon so dainly, coniectured that in the water there were men hid, because that the foule rose wholly ashead & flew ouer the water to & fro without ceasse: he therefore sending discouersers to see what it was, and finding that there were 10000. Bohemians in ambush for to haue surprised him in passage, caused his Legions to turne back again, & toke another way that his enemies doubted not of, & surprised & ouerthrew them that would haue surprised

him. Likewise Thyamenus the sonne of Horestes being aduertised that his enemies lay vpon the toppe of a high mountaine, where he and his men should passe: hauing sent to knowe the trueth by his discouersers, who reported vnto him that it was otherwise then had beeu told him befoze: as the sayd Thyamenus was proceeding vpon his way, he sawe a great number of foule rise from the place that he doubted, which flew round about not lighting: whereby he vnderstood of his enemies ambush, and sought another way to passe through. As concerning the second poynt, that is to bee inticed vpon an ambush: a Generall ought alwaies to stand vpon his guard, and ought neuer to giue credite vnto things that are but like vnto a trueth: as if an enemy doth place befoze him some troope of cattle or other thing to pray vpon, he may beleue that it is but a hooke to catch him with all, and a couering of his deceit. Likewise, if a great number of his enemies Souldiers, should flye befoze a small number of his men; or that a small number of his enemies dare assault a great number of his, he may be assured that it is not done without a consideration. Moreouer, if an enemy do sodainly flye without cause, a Generall may bee assured that it hath a subtile meaning in it. True it is that these things may oftentimes be done without thinking of any euill, specially when as they that make these shewes, haue asmuch reason to doubt on their sides, as the others on theirs: notwithstanding, the surest way in these cases, is to take all that is done by the enemy at the worst, except a man had a most certaine aduertisement. Moreouer, a Generall must not beleue but that his enemy can do his busines with wisdom. Wherefoze if a Generall would take heed for being deceiued, & endomaged, he ought to esteeme of his enemy most, when he perceiueth him to be weakest and worst counsailed: and in this busines he must vse two contrarie termes. First of all he ought to doubt his enemy in his owne thought, and in the gouernment of his armie; but to dispraise him in speech, and by all his outward demonstrations to make shewe that he maketh no accompt of him. This doing, the last manner will bee an occasion to animate his Souldiers to conceiue the better hope of the victorie against their enemies: and the first will make him
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the more wary and aduised to keepe him-selſe from ſurprize : which is a thing more then neceſſary, when as a Generall is in an enemy his countrey, becauſe that an army is there a thouſand times more in danger, then it may be vppon a day of Battaille. And therefore he ought to be circumspect, and ought to haue all the countrey deſcribed vnto him, and platted in ſuch ſort, that he might know all the places in the countrey, diſtances from one place vnto another, waies, footpaths, mountains, filds, marſhes, riuers, and all other qualities. And ſo to vnderſtand all this the better, he muſt get thoſe about him that know the countrey, and muſt interogat them ſeuerally from point to point : and afterwards hauing penned their answers, he muſt conſerre them together, to try whether they be like or contrary. And to be the better aſſured, he muſt ſend out hoſemen ſome-what befoze into the countrey, and certaine wiſe Chieſes with them, to diſcouer the force and eſtate of his enemies, and to ſee if the deſcription made vnto him by the others, do agree with the truth. He muſt likewise haue a great regard that his guides be ſafe kept, ſo many times falſe and traiterous guides haue bin the occaſion of the loſſe of many a good man, and ſo likewise haue falſe ſpies : of whome, to be well ſerued, he muſt promiſe to giue them great recompence ſo their paines in doing theyr duties faithfully : and alſo muſt threaten them with death, if that they ſhould faile, and deceiue him : and aboue all things his army muſt neuer know vnto what place he doth determine to bring them : ſo in all the exerciſe of the warres, there is no one point more profitable, then to keepe ſecret that which is pretended. And to the intent that an army ſhould not be troubled or aſtonied throught any ſodaine aſſault, the ſouldiers ought to be alwayes in a readineſſe to receiue their enemies, that is to ſay, to be aduertised and taught what they ſhould do, if that they ſhould be aſſailed either by night or by day, while they reſt, or are vpon the way, ſo things that are provided ſo, do leaſt hurt. We muſt alſo note this aduertisement to uſe it when as we do trauaile throught the countrey, that is, that the one part of the army ſhould not be too farre from the other. And ſo that ſome do goe ſometimes too faſt, and others too ſlowe, it ſhould

be needefull to place certaine expresse Chieffes both before, behind, and betwixt the battailes, who should haue charge to cause them to march all of one forme and time, keeping backe those that goe too fast, and hastening those that goe too slowly: for if a Generall do not cause that to be done, they will fall into a disorder, which might happen to cause their ouerthrowe. Every man shall measure his pace according vnto the stroke of the Drumme, and so their gate will be all one. The single order of euery Legion for the time that they do march together, (I meane when they do march one after another, and that they be farre from enemyes) must be 21. men in a ranke, who so would raunge the Legions readily in battaile: and therefore there must be order giuen that the waies where that they should passe, should be at the least broad enough to receiue the sayd number. A Generall ought also to consider of the custome and qualitie of his enemy, to wéete, whether he vse to assaile in the euening, or in the morning, or in the night, and whether he be strongest of footemen, or of horsemen, to the intent to prouide for him.

How a Lieutenant Generall ought to gouerne himselfe when he findeth himselfe too weake to abide his enemyes, with certaine policies to escape their danger when as he is fallen into it, and how to haue the aduantage of them.

The 6. Chapter.



I hapneth sometimes that a Generall doth raise his Campe being néere vnto his enemyes, because that he doth perceiue himselfe to be too weake, and therefore is neither determined to offer, nor to accept Battaille, but would auoide it by all meanes possible: but so it is, that his enemies are alwayes at his backe, and endeuour to follow him as much as they may; and therefore the said Generall seeking to auoid the danger he is like to fall into, doth get away as fast as he can, vntill at length he

he doth arriue at the edge of a riuer, which doth hinder him for want of ready passage, so that his enemyes may ouertake him whilst he is at this point, and enforce him to fight, how vnwilling soeuer he be. The remedy in this case is to imitate the example of Sertorius; who hauing his enemies at his heeles, & being arriued at the edge of a riuer which he should passe, deuised to stay his enemies whilst he did passe to enclose his Campe with a trench in forme of a halfe Moone, and placed wood and other things apt to burne, round about the said trench, and afterwards set it on fire, the flame whereof was so vehement, that his enemies durst neuer aduenture to make way through, and by that meanes he passed ouer the said riuer at ease, and saued himself. Pelopidas of Thebes did the like in Thessalia. Hanno being inclosed with his enemies, enuironed the place where he would issue out at with a great many sagots, not making any trench at all, and causing the wood to be set on fire, whereupon his enemies assembling to keepe the other issues (for they neuer thought that he could haue passed that way) he went through y^e fire with his people, hauing admonished the that they should couer their faces with their targets, & their thighes with their skirts. Quintus Luctatius being neere pursued of y^e Cimbres, & comming vnto the edge of a riuer that he should passe, made shew to tarry for the to haue y^e safer passage, & faigned to place his Camp there, causing trenches to be made, & certaine tents to be raised, and sent out certaine boyes for forrage, by reason whereof, the Cimbres thought that the Romanes would haue lodged all that night in that place, and therefore they camped also, deuiding themselves into many parts, some going for forrage, and other seeking to recouer victuals, which when Luctatius perceiued, he caused his forragers sodainly to be called back againe, and immediatly passed the riuer without impeachment: for his enemyes being scattered as is said, could not assaile him at that instant, for they could by no meanes haue been assembled so sodainly to follow him.

Cræsus seeing that he could not passe through a riuer called Halis, and that he had nothing to help himselfe withall to make a Bridge, caused a great ditch to be made, which came from
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the saide riuer behinde his Campe : which ditch was made so deepe, that all the water in the riuer, or at the least the greatest part thereof, might issue out of the first currant into it : which being done, the riuer was drawne so lowe, that his souldiers passed thzough almost dry shod. And as for the passing thzough riuers with horsemen and footemen, that are but of meane deapth, but runne maruellous strong, there is no other thing to be done, but to place the greatest part of the horsemen which are best mounted, bypermost toward the streame, to resist and breake the force of the water, and to place another part beneathe them, leauing a broad passage betwixt them, for the footemen and the other worst horses to passe thzough without perill : and if so be that the force of the water should ouerthrowe any of them, those that were lowermost should succour him, and take him vp. But riuers that are not to be waded thzough, must be passed ouer with bridges placed vpon boates : which bridges and boates may be both carted and carped alongst with an armye, as we haue seene in our time one, which the King caused to be made, which was strong ynough to passe all carriges, and the great Ordnance passed surely vpon it also, and notwithstanding it was portable, & easy to be carted, for one Maggon carped one of those boates easily, and the planks that were layd vpon it. There may be many sorts of bridges made to passe riuers, but that with boates is the surest : and if there should be enemyes on the other side of the riuer to impeach the laying of a bridge, or to keepe the riuer, and to stop the passage, which oft times both happen, I do knowe no better remedy therein, then to imitate Caesar, who hauing his Host at the edge of the riuer to goe into Auvergne, perceiuing that Vercingenberix did keepe the other side against him, who had caused all the bridges to be broken, so that by that meanes he could not passe. He traualled certayne daies alongst the said riuer, waighting an opportunitye that might helpe him to passe : but for that his enemyes marched on the other side of the riuer right against him to hinder him for passing, Caesar could finde no meanes in certayne daies to do it, vntill at length he found a place couered with trees where he lodged : and in the morning he stayed in that

that place with part of his army, and sent the rest to follow their way, coasting the riuer as they did before : and this he did to the intent to repaie a Bridge there which was broken but a few dayes before : and when his enemyes were dislodged, Caesar fell to worke : for Vercingentrix thinking that the Romans had been altogether, continued his way, and neuer perceiued Caesar his policy, vntill the Bridge was layed and fortified. Let vs also speake of the inclosing of an army betwixt two high Mountaines, where there is but two issues to passe through, to wete, that before the said army and the other that it is entred in at : and let vs suppose that both these wayes the army being entred are ceazed vpon by their enemies, and the tops of the Mountaynes also : the best remedy in this case is, to make a great ditch toward that issue that the army is entred at, to the intent that their enemyes might thinke that it were done to stop those behinde them from assaulting them, whilst they did assay to open the passage before them : and to confirme theyr enemyes the better in this opinion, they may make shewe to march forward to repulse those that keepe the passage before them : and it will be a great chaunce but that both those that are behinde, and those vpon the Mountaynes, will make haste to succour the others at the place where they thinke that the army will seeke passage : and if so be that they do forsake the place where the army entred, there is no more to be done, but speedely to make passage ouer the ditch, and to returne that way that they are entred. After this manner escaped Pericles from the Peloponesians. Quintus Fabius, Consull of Rome, being inclosed in the Mountaynes of Genes, not knowing how to get out, except he might helpe himself with some policie, sent a good company of his Numidian horsemen towards one of the straights that his enemies kept, who at the first sight ranked themselves in battaile, to keepe the passage against them : but seeing that the Numidians did make no great shewe, or to be of no great force to winne the passage : and that they were in poore estate, and their horses verie leane, they made so little account of them, that a great part of those that had the passage in charge went home, and others stode gaping vpon the
Numidians

Numidians expressely to see them : whereupon the said Numidians perceiuing the euill order and little account that they enemies did make of them, pricked their horses all at once, and charged they sayd enemies so violently, that they passed through the straight, and after that they were past, they ranne vpon the countrey to spoile it, so that their enemies were constrained to leaue the passage open for the sayd Consull and his men to reskue their owne goodes which the said Numidians did make spoile of.

Brasydas the Lacedemonian, being assayled by a great number of Athenians, did keepe his men close by together as nere as he could, that his enemyes might the better enuiron him : but seeing himselfe inclosed, he charged with all his men vpon the weakest part of his enemyes, and made them to make him way by force of armes.

Mark Anthony, as he marched in retyring out of the countrey of the Parthians where Crassus had bene newly slaine, seeing that his enemyes did assaile him ordinarily carely in the morning, and skirmished and troubled him all day long, untill that he lodged, and that then they let him alone, and lodged themselves farre from his Campe : to passe the rest of his way with the lesse trouble, he determined one day not to dislodge vntill it was very late, and did so : whereupon the Parthians being dislodged, and seeing that the Romanes remained in their Campe, thinking that they would not haue stirred that day, returned againe vnto their lodging, and Mark Anthony remoued immediatly after, and had leisure ynough to march all the rest of that day without trouble. In this place I must make mention of one thing which his souldiers did through his counsaile, to couer themselves from the great number of arrowes that the Parthians did shote amongst them, that was, as often as the said Parrhians did charge them, they knoeled downe vpon one knee, and those of the second ranke did lay their targets vpon the heads of those of the first ranke, and those of the third vpon the heads of those of the second ranke : and those of the fourth vpon the heads of those of the third, and so following, so that all the ranks were couered as if it had been vnder

a roffe, which manner might be obserued by our Legionaries, by meanes of their targets, if so be that at any time they were in danger of archers. During the warres with the Englishmen, Shilds were in vse, which at this instant would not be ill so that a Harquebuste could not pearce them, for to haue one ranke of men that should carry them before the battailes, to the intent that the first ranks of the battailes might continue whole, when as they should come hand to hand with their enemies. I will not forget in this place, this one rule of the science of the warres, which is of great importance, that is, to make ouerture and passage for an enemy on some one side, when as he is so inclosed, that he can escape no way, except a man haue some great aduantage of them: for it is to be feared that they would do some great mischief, seeing themselves out of hope: for that all good Souldyers, which do make theyr reckoning to dye but once, will sell their liues so deare, that the remembrance of it may continue long after: and sometimes this desperation is cause of their safety that are in this danger, because that then they do make of necessitie, a vertue: as the Englishmen did at the battaile of Poytiers, where they were but a handfull of people inclosed by a great number of Frenchmen, who would take no reasonable composition at their hands: wherefore as men out of hope to escape from the place, the said Englishmen stode all vpon this resolution, that it was more honoz for them to be ouerthrowne in fighting vertuously, (although that they should all dye) then to escape, and to be reproached euer after: and vpon this deliberation they fought so well, that the Frenchmen who were tenne to one, were souly ouerthrowne, and King Iohn taken. Therefore in such a case it is good to be somewhat gracious, specially when we are at that point y our enemies must defend themselves of meere force: for it were better to giue the passage vpon some one side, and by that meanes to giue the some hope to saue themselves, & the lesse will to resist, then by thinking to ouerthrow the quite, to fall into the danger to be ouerthrowne, or to leese many men: for this passage which I speake of is not to giue the leaue to depart for altogether, but is to haue a better meane to break the, for y in thinking
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to scape quite and out of danger, euery one of those that would defend themselves stoutly, being constrained therevnto, would not seeke or hearken to any other thing, but how to saue themselves: wherefore they would all thinke to escape, some one way, and some another: and in this doing they would breake, for as much as euery man would haue care but of himselfe. A Generall ought likewise to let an enemy his army to passe, whē it seemeth to be strong ynough to defend it selfe in the playne field, and doth forsake the place without fighting, mistrusting it selfe not to be strong ynough, or dare not stay the comming of their enemies: for the departure only is greatly for his reputation, vnto whome the place is left: and how much more secretly that his enemies do depart, so much the greater is his credit that doth feare them away. It is well knowne what retreat that the Spanyards did make at their departure from Troy, without sounding Trompet or Drumme, and that the said retreat was as great an honoz vnto Mounseieur de Lautrec, as almost the victorie would haue bin. And that he looked into before, which was the occasion that he constrained not his enemies for to fight, least that he should haue fallen into any danger by that constraint: also to shew apparantly that his enemies were no wayes equall vnto him, he did not force them so much as to amend their gate: and being aduertised time ynough of their flying, and perswaded to pursue them, he answered with Scipio, that a man ought not only to leaue the way free before his enemies to flye, but also to amend and open it. This matter requireth that we should here speake of another great point, that is, how an Host might retyre from another, when as it feeleth it selfe too weake to fight with an enemy, or to abide his comming: for all good Captaines affirme, that in all the actions of the wars, there is none more dangerous. For that when a Generall doth retire without Combat, being nere vnto his enemies, he doth take away the balew of his souldiers, and giue it vnto their enemies: but so it is that these things do happen oft ynough, and therefore I will shew how we may retire with the least daunger. Aboue all things the souldiers may not knowe that their Generall doth retire to auoide the Com-
bate,

hate : but they must be made to beleue that the retreat is made to draw their enemies into some other more commodious place, to haue a more advantage of them : or that it is done to make theyr enemies to follow them, to bring the saide enemies vpon some ambush : for who so would not alledge vnto his Souldiers some reason lyke a truthe for his sudden departure, should make them to thinke that theyr Generall dooth retyre for the feare that he hath of his enemies, being out of hope of his abilitie to resist them if he should come vnto the combate : by means whereof, they would fall into such a feare, that how little force so euer their enemies should doe vnto them, they would immediately flye, cheefely if it were by night : for the prouerbe is, that shame shutteth hir eyes by night, and seeth not one iotte. We must therefore in such cases dislodge so stilly, that our enemies doe not perceiue it, for it would be to be doubted, that in the raising of the Campe they would giue vs an assault, in which dooing, those which before were in feare, would by & by put themselves into disorder : therefore they that heeretofore haue bene constrained to vse such retreats, placed their Horsemen vpon two sides like vnto two hedges : and left awaye betwixt them, through which way their footmen did retyre being couered with their Horsemen, so that they could not bee perceiued by theyr enemies. And after this maner they caused their battailes to passe one after another : and when one battaile was eskaped, it fortified it selfe in some place out of the enemie his sight, staying whilist the others came, who retyred in like manner as the first did : and in the end all the armie did put themselves in safetie. We must note, that if this were doone by day, that it ought to be in some couered place, or plaine countrie : for how little a hill soeuer that their enemies might haue vpon their side, they might easily discover this departing. The order that an armie obserued heeretofore in remoouing by night, was this : first of all, after it was determined what waye that they should take to saue themselves, and at what crie or sound of the Trumpet that they should be ready to depart, the Generall sent a good number of lichte armed men before, (as we would say the Forlorne hope, which I haue appointed in this woork,) to ceaze vpon

all the places of aduantage, and of all the Straights that the Campe should passe through in rettying: and when the Generall thought that they had ceazed vpon them all, hee then set forth with the rest of his armie, and followed the first with as little noyse as might bee possible. Now if his enemies vnderstood of this departure, they immediatlye vled all the diligence possible to ceaze vpon the passages which were taken befoze, and kept by the light armed men, not breaking their order: & if they were followed in this retreat, the rest of the light armed men that were with the armie (for it is to bee vnderstood they had remaining with them the one halfe or more) kept at the taylor, and vpon the flankes with the Horsemen: who resisted their enemies with all their power, skirmishing in rettying, not staying long in a place, but following the battailes as neare as they could: as for to stay behind them there were no great wisdom, and with these skirmishes both the Battailles and they went forward vpon their waye, being little endamaged by their enemies, nor hindered to arrive at the passages that their men kept for them.

At which passages when they were arrived, hauing all their men together they incamped: if the place were fit to doe it, and that they knew an aduantage by it, and might haue in it things necessarie for them without daunger, and might bee releued in despite of their enemies, or else they passed further: and their light armed men that were befoze at the taylor of their battailes, marched now at the front, and all the hoste followed them, and those who had kept the passages befoze, who were fresh, and had rested, kept at the taylor, to maintaine skirmish against their enemies, whilst the others did goe their wayes, they themselves following them, skirmishing, and resisting their enemies all daye long, vntill such time as they did come vnto their lodging. And this is concerning those that doe rettye in the sight of their enemyes, which is more harde, then when as they doe depart, not being discovered in a good while after that they are remooued, or vntill the next daye: for in such a case they shall haue time enough to get away farre enough off from their enemies.

And

And those that would so dislodge, that they enemies being neare should not perceiue it, ought to vse all the meanes that they may possible, to make their enemies to thinke, that they do still remaine in their fort, they must dislodge by night, & their fyres must bee refreshed that they should not goe out in long time after their departure: but continue burning untill it were day. Moreover they must place the bodies of their dead if they haue any, round about their trench: which should bee vnderfett with shoozes, and clothed and weapened as if they were alpye: or they should plant some bushes, and clothe them with Souldiers apparell: or stuffe the sayde clothes with grasse, and leaue certaine head peeces placed vpon the trench, layeng stakes by them, with matche burning, for to represent Warque-busters: the one of these deuises will serue by night, and the other by daye.

Moreover, they might leaue Dogges, Bullockes, Asses, and Horses made fast within their Campe: whose cryeng, neyeng, and howling, might make they enemies to beleue that the Campe were not remooued: and Cokes also would doe the like (if there were anye in the Campe: the Almaignes doe carrey good store) I thinke not but these policies would couer the departing of an armie. And when as the Ordnance could not be saued, it might bee broken in peeces, and carryed away to be new melted after ward, or might bee buried so, that it might afterwarde bee hard to be founde: or if it should come vnto the woozst it coulde bee but losse, although it should fall into our enemyes handes: the losse whereof coulde not bee so great, but the losse that might fall vpon the men would bee moze to bee feared: because that Ordnance might be easier recovered then the men that would bee losse to defende it: notwithstanding at this daye wee doe make such account to preserve it, that we doe almost forget all our other busines, making our account that if it maye bee saued it is all that wee doe care for: and that if it were left behinde, all were losse: for which cause wee leaue oft times to giue order for many things of great importance, being troubled with a great quantitie of

Ordnance, which may not be left without a great gard to keepe it: notwithstanding the estimation that we doe make of it, if it were requisite for an army to make any extreame hast, whether it were to indomage an enemy, or to keepe vs from their hands: through these occasions we must eyther abandon the said Ordnance, or doe our busines ill, as we did ours at Landrian, for the desire that we had for to saue a naughtie Cannon. Wherefore as often as we are in this extremitie, it were much better for to saue the men (albeit that the ordnance, baggage, & other moueables, should be lost) then to hazard men for a thing that may so easily afterward be recovered. Since I haue before spoken of a retreat made in the sight of an enemy, I will now speake of a retreat made which an enemy dooth not see. Let vs put case that a Generall dooth retye by night so secretly that his enemies doe not perceiue his going, vntill long time after his dislodging: it is to be thought that in short time he will bee farre on his way, and so far as it were not possible for his enemies to ouertake him, what hast soeuer they should make: whether they should pursue him, or might pursue him if they would, the sayd Generall can vse no better counsell then to trauaile daye and night without rest, vntill such time as he were out of daunger, & in resting by the way, to take great heed not to be one minute of an hower without good watch, nor without Horsesmen, skouting out vpon the wayes a good waye of from his Campe, and not suffer his Souldiers to goe out of their quarter: but to be ready with their armes at euery hower for to resist those that would assaile them, and to set forward vpon the waye when they should depart: and this order must bee kept at the meales that they doe make by daye: and as concerning their night resting, it must be as short as it may be possible, the Souldiers hauing continually their armes in their hands: that euery man might bee readye to defende himselfe.

If the stay that they did make by night should bee anye thing long, I would counsell the Generall to lodge his men in some strong place of aduantage: but the surest and safest waye is not to staye: but to winne ground as much as he may possible: thinking

thinking vpon the daunger that he was in but a little before, and the daunger and greefe it would bee vnto him to bee ouertaken through his owne default. It were therefore better for him to vse diligence, whilst he may doe it without let, then to cary the coming of his enemies, and to bee constrained to fight, or to fall into their mercie: this dooing he shall saue himselfe and his people, and giue his enemy no time to ouertake him, or to force him to fight: but the pursuer must take heed, least in pursuing foolishly & rashly he fall into the ambushes that are made in such cases against the pursuers, who oft times become, so audacious, that they doe thinke scoone to foresee into any thing that might hurte them: so that those whome they doe pursue might easlye surpise, and greatlye endamage them: and sometime put them vnterlye into disorder, if the Lieutenant Generall who is pursued be a man any thing hardy and aduenterous: into which inconuenience they doe sometimes fall that are fullest of pollicy: but those good Chieftes which will auoide it, pursue as colde as they can, & the colder that they doe pursue, the more they doe staye the gate of their people: which staye dooth giue them the more leasure to get away that doe retyre. Moreouer it is better to be too slowe in this busines then too hastie: for those that doe retyre, haue many wayes to annoye them that doe pursue them, specially if their way doe lye through a strong countrey, or forrest, for that they may cut downe trees, and fell them crosse the wayes: and likewise may laye ambushes, which they may make vnto their aduantage, being in strong and couered places, and in wayes fit for ambushes: which sayde ambushes must be made by those that are the best footmen, or if that they should make ambushes of Horsemen, they must bee of those that are best mounted, to the intent they might retyre in safetie when they haue executed their charge: & in their ambushes they must not cary or staye too long behinde the hoast, least theyr enemies perceiuing them should cut them off from the armie. But if the retreat be wisely handled, the troopes not staying too long behinde the armie, the pursuers shall be in daunger to take more hurte through their pursute, then those that doe retire through their retreat: for the retirers shall better succour one another at their

niere being nere together, then those that do pursue vndiscreet-
 ly, he that best may fastest. And if that those that retyre doe dili-
 gently take heede of these small points, and doe ceaze vpon the
 troublesome passages through which they must passe, betime
 not delaying vntill that their enemies should get them: it is to
 be hoped that they should saue themselves in despighte of their
 enemies, except that some other inconuenience doe happen vn-
 to them vpon the way, which must be foresene into after one of
 the maners spoken of before, in shewing the meanes that a Ge-
 nerall might vse to escape si a dangerous place. And although
 I had not spoken of all the perills into which they may fall some-
 times that doe exercise the warres: I suppose that hauing spo-
 ken of the most commonest, a Generall Chiefe (if he bee ought
 worth) will finde a remedie of himselfe for the other. In the
 maner aforesayde in mine opinion maye those retyre that finde
 themselves too weake to abide the aduenture of a battaile. On
 the contrarpe part if the pursuers haue kept so ill watche that
 they haue not vnderstood of their enemies departing, vntill that
 they were gone a good part of their way: there is no other re-
 medye but to take paines to repayre that negligence by some o-
 ther meanes. But if it were so that they did before hand vnder-
 stand of their determination to depart, they should seeke to ceaze
 the passages, and to breake them with trenches, and to fell trees
 in their wayes, or other things that might trouble the passage.
 And must mozeouer keepe their Battailons in good order rea-
 dy to fight, and the hoast ready to depart at all times, and to
 haue them the readier, to cause them to eate their meate as they
 ranged in Battaille not breaking their order, to the intent that
 they might be ready to assaile their enemies, at what time so-
 euer that they should make shew to put themselves vpon the
 waye, for to follow them at the heeles, and to inclose them at the
 passages which are stoppt and ceazed vpon before. And if so be
 that the countrie were so open that there could be no meanes
 found to stoppe them vpon the waye, me thinkes that in this
 case there were no waye to stape them, but to charge them be-
 hinde thicke and often: and to trouble them in such sorte that the
 hindmost should be constrained to stay to defend themselves, and
 conse-

quently the foremost to succour them: and those charges should be made by the Harquebusiers a Horsebacke, and by the Hargoletiers, amongst whome there should bee a good part of the Horse hope, or some other extraordinary bands, if there were anye at that time in the Campe. And if the enemy were too strong of Horsemen for these skirmishes, then part of the light Horsemen must bee sent to succour them: and the battailes must marche diligently in verie good order to fight with theyr enemies, with the lightest Ordnance that they haue, leauing theyr heauiest in some stronge place, and also their baggage to make the more haste, that nothing might hinder them to pursue their enemies, nor to fight with them when they haue ouertaken them.

And when as the sayde enemies are dislodged so secretlye that they are so farre vpon the waye before it bee knowne, that by no meanes they may bee ouertaken in a whole daye: I knowe no other remedie but to follow them, and that the Generall who pursueth, doe it wiselye standing alwayes vpon his guard, that he fall not into his enemies ambushes: and in persuing them, it may happen that his enemies will thinke, that they are escaped out of his handes, and become so negligent of themselves, that they will giue him time enough to ouertake them, & peradventure be the occasion of their owne ruine: for those who thinke to be in safetie, and are carelessse to looke vnto theyr businesse, doe oft tymes trifle awaye the tyme vpon the waye for small occasion, and thereby are ouertaken, and sometymes they are founde out of order, whilest that they doe eate, or sleepe: as our men were at Brignolle, or are out of theyr quarters heere and there for forrage: as sometime happened vnto Simon the Romane in Calabria, and vnto manye others both before and since, & will happen: except that he that retrveth, foresee before all things to keepe good watch on euery side, and to fortifie himselfe where he meaneth to stay any tyme: if it were but to withstande the assaultes that his enemy might attempt against him euery hower, which is a thing that ought one bothe sides to bee looked into: for the pursuer is as much subiect vnto this inconuenience, as hee that dooth retyre:

ſpecially if their enemies haue any ſpies whom they may intrap, for that of force thoſe which doe purſue others haſtily, do wearie themſelues with the great iourneys that they do make, and being wearied and tyred, they will haue the leſſe regarde of themſelues: by which meanes the others who haue already gotten the aduantage of the waye, are at libertye to goe forward, or to ſtay, and therefore may do eſther of them which they will. For that I haue ſpoken ynough of this matter, I will goe vnto another: that is to ſhew how to lodge an armie in Campe, to the intent it might reſt in quiet without daunger of enemies.

Howe to lodge foure Legions together in a Campe, and what watche they ought to keepe, with other poyntes concerning the ſayde maner of lodging in Campe, and whileſt the Campe is making.

The 7. Chapter.



Whoſoeuer will lodge an hoaste ſurely, ought to place his Campe where it may be ſtrong and well ordered. Concerning the ordering of it; that dooth depend vpon the induſtrye of the Lieutenant Generall: and as for the making of it ſtrong, it is the ſituation, and arte that dooth it. Wee haue a cuſtome at this day to lodge in no place except there be ditches or riuers, or a great number of trees or mountaines: or ſome other naturall rampar that doe make the place ſtrong of it ſelfe. Notwithſtanding I finde that the Romanes vſed a farre better manner: for they regarded not ſo much the ſtrength of a place that was naturallye ſtrong, as to place their Campe where that they might helpe themſelues by their arte, in which they truſted aboue all things: and ſeldome would they campe in any place, how ſtrong ſo euer it were, if it were not large enough to range all their Battailles in, according vnto their militarie diſcipline, in which dooing they might alwaies keepe one ſelfe ſame forme of lodging: for the place was ſubiect vnto them, and not they vnto the place. But we which do obſerue no generall rule heere-
in,

in, are constrained to make our Campe of many fourmes: sometimes to make it crooked, at other times to make it triangular; of too great a length, or round, or square, according vnto the situation which seldom both fall out fit. And if we should remoue our Camps often, and march sometime amongst mountaines, and sometimes through plaines, and change our maner of lodging, and the fourmes of our Camps as often as wee doe finde the situations far to differ; wee should not onely faile in this point, but also (which is worse) order our Campes with in so grossly, that almost nothing should be placed in his right place, nor to purpose, so that a man might thinke our Camps rather to shewe vs to bee a confused assemblie and without order, then to bee men of warre orderly gouerned, whiche is a thing of no lesse importance, then to make a campe strong round about: for as the fortresse doth serue to defend men against the assaults of their enemies, so the well ordering of a Campe within, serueth for to distribute & place them, so y every one might know what part he should defend: without which order we had need to make Bulwarkes and Trenches about a Campe; for we may better want this Fortification, then the defence that the Souldiers may make within it, who beeing lodged as they ought to bee, may for a neede passe without fort, and bee alwaies in order to resist all assaults.

There are also many other small things requisite, besides the strength of the place, and the orderly distribution of the people that should keepe it: for in the placing of a Campe there must be respect had of more then one thing: for not only ought a man to be carefull to be surely defended against his enemies, but also to haue a care that it may bee delectable within, and commodious for all necessarie vses, so that the pleasantnes of the place might delight the people, for by that meanes it doth keep them the better, & dooth make them lesse wearie of it, then when as it ill quallited & distributed, as we do see y our Camps are: which are moreouer so fowl and stinking, how litle soeuer they continue in a place, that the aier is by & by corrupted, wherof do proceede afterwarde plagues and other greuous diseases, which wee do see to raigne amongst vs when wee are in Campe.

God doth know the delight that men haue to bee in them, and whether the Souldiers doe no tarpe in them oft times against their wills, how great a desier soruer that they haue to followe the warres. Wherefore we ought to order and deuise a campe in such sort that it might keepe them from sicknes that shoulde dwell in it, and fashion it so wel, that the commoditie and pleasantnes of the same, might make the souldiers the moze willing for to tarpe in it. And for that we cannot finde places ordinarily so well situated, as to bee both strong and delectable of themselves: wee must therefore vse industrie to supply that by labor, which the situation wanteth. As for the fortifying of a Campe, we do take as great paines as is possible to doe: but wee leaue our Camps within, somewhat confused. Wherefore I am determined to speake mine opinion in this matter, and to lodge my fower Legions, whom I haue conducted hitherto, with al their carriages and followers, who are in all 24400. ordynary footmen, and 2500. horsemen, not counting the principall chieffes, and officers of the Campe, and their traine, nor likewise the ordnance, prouision, baggage, nor other followers, which Campe shalbe great enough to lodge them all, and moze then they, if need were.

After that we haue chosen the place where the armie shall be lodged, wee must begiune in the verie middelt of the same, and there plant a Halbard, and mark round about the sayd Halbard a square place, which shalbe 170. paces in length, and as much in breadth, with fower sides, euery side towards his region. This said square must be deuided into fower other squares, ech one of them containing 65. paces. euery way making a crosse in the middelt of them, which may serue for a seperation of the one place from the other: and likewise for a street which shalbe 40. paces in breadth. The one of these squares must serue to lodge the General chiefe of the hoast, and his gard: another shal serue for the Captaine Generall of the footmen, and for al those that do follow him without wages. The Captaine Generall of the horsemen shalbe lodged in the third, and his prouost: & those y follow him for their pleasure. The fourth shalbe for the marshal of the Campe, the Chauncelour, chiefe Treasurer, Mustermaisters,

Sermaiſters, and Controwlers, every one of which ſower quarters may be enclosed within a ſmall trench. And for the lodging of the Legions, wee muſt beginne and ſtretch a line from the aforeſayd Halbard towards the eaſt, which muſt be 600. paces long, and another towards the weſt of the ſame length; ſo that theſe lines maye paſſe through the miſt of the ſtreat which I haue beſore ordained within the ſower ſmall quarters abouesaid.

There muſt likewiſe two other lines be ſtretched from ſaid Halbard; the one towards the South, and the other towards the North, and of the ſame length that the others are: at the endes of which lines, ſhall the ſower gates of the Campe bee, the which ſhal take their names of the Regions towards which they do ſtand. The principall ſtreates ſhalbe laide out along theſe ſower lines, and ſhal keepe that bredth I haue giuen unto the camps that do lodge the legions by themſelues, to wit, 60. paces every one.

I muſt alſo take from every one of the Legions, one of the ſower quarters deſcribed in their camps where they are lodged by themſelues, and turne thoſe ſower quarters into voyd places, and thoſe quarters ſhall be taken from the horſemen, ſo that ſaid horſemen that lodged in thoſe quarters ſhalbe lodged with the other bandes of their Legions. Then the horſemens quarter ſhall bee deuided like vnto one of thoſe wherein the footmen are lodged: in which quarter, two bandes ſhall haue rounge enough, without peſtring horſe or man. The Coloneis lodgings ſhal continue in their firſt ſtate, and alſo three of the quarters of the Legion. So that then I may ſay that the firſt Legion ſhall haue his quarter betwixt the Eaſt and the South gate. And the ſecond ſhall haue his betwixt the ſaide Eaſt, and North gate. The thirde legion ſhalbe lodged betwixt the South & the Weſt gates. And the fourth betwixt the Weſt, and the North gate. So that theſe ſower legions ſhall furniſh the circuit of the camp, hauing in the miſt of them their Generall and principal chiefs, & on the outſide of them a rampar with many bulwarks defending eche other, betwixt which rampar & their lodgings, muſt be a ſpace left round about the campe of 160. paces broad which

which shall serue to place the ordnaunce in, and the watche, & to raunge the Legions in battaile if need were, and also to practice the Souldiers in. The Souldiers maye likewise put the cattle of their booties there, and Victualers may keepe al theirs by night, if so be that they be of our owne natiō: for els I would put them out of the forte, or into some place out of the daunger of their enemies, because that they should not know after what manner I did keepe my watch, nor likewise see the quantitie of mine ordnance, nor should approach neere the place where I do keepe my prouision.

To be short, this distance betwixt the rampar and the quarters, may serue for to keepe the Campe from burning by fier-works that those without might throwe in, which is a thing easie enough to be done, and may trouble a camp maruelously. Concerning the fower quarters which I tooke from the Legions, I do meane to imploy them for the common vse of the Armie: and first, that quarter that I tooke from the horsemen of the first Legion, shall be for the prouision of the ordnaunce, to witte, for powder and shot, which quarter shalbe inuironed with two or thre trenches, and there must no fier be suffered to come neere but as far of as may possible. The quarter that was taken from the second legion, shall serue for all the smithes in the Armie: by whome the maister of the ordnance shall lodge, and bys Gunners, Pioners, Carters, and other attendants vpo the ordnance. As for the quarter of the third legion, I doe ordaine it for the prouision of victuall and armes, and for the market to sel cattell in. In one corner of this quarter shall those bee lodged that come in Ambassage vnto the Generall, and all others of whom there is any doubt to be had, who ought to bee forbidden as soone as they doe arriue, not to go through, or about the campe, nor to stir out of their quarter, without being conducted by one of the Trumpeters of the said General, or by some other whome hee shold appoint. Likewise the Generall must forbid, y none of his hoast should haue conference with them in any manner, whosoer it were, except it were those that were appointed to keepe them company, or such as had leaue expresse. The fourth quarter shalbe to keepe the market for al necessaries: as bread, wine, wheat,

wheat, oates, hay, and other victuals. The butcherie shalbe kept there also, I meane not that the beasts should be killed there, for no man must bee so bold as to kill, sleie, or open a beast within the Campe, nor to burie horse, dogge, nor any other thing that may smell ill: nor go to his busines in the long publike streets, nor in the perticular little streets, (I tearme them to bee little streets that are amongst the quarters) nor no where els, but in certaine holes which euery one shall make in his quarters but it were better that they should go without the Campe, and when as any one should do the contrarie, hee ought to bee grievously punished: and if any skorne, do laugh at my words, because that I do speake of those stinking thinges; I aunswere him, that he was neuer in campe: or if he were, it hath not bene when as the campe hath staid long in one place, for hee woulde quicklie haue perceiued what hurt infection doth vnto a campe, and negligence in causing soule & vnclane thinges to be throwen farre without a campe. And herof the ruine of that campe, that *Monsieur de Lautrec*, had befoze Naples can witnesse, which perished through a plague, that was engendered of the corruption of the ayre which was infected through the carrian, and panches of beasts that were left here and there in the camp vnburied: which negligence, brought vs the plague, and finally our ruine, and in mine opinion, wee ought to put the fault in nothing els whatsoever we do say. The places taken from the legions being imployed to the vse of the campe, we must appoince the streets for their vse that do followe the armie, and place euery one of them in a place by himselfe: to wit, in the east street, the shop-keepers, tailers, hosiers, and shomakers, in the West street, the taphouses, cooks, bakers, pi-makers, and suche like sellers of victuals. In the south street, the Physicians, Apothecaries, chirurgeons, Barbers, Chandlers, & pouter-makers. And the north street shalbe for Sadlers, Spurmakers, Armourers, and other their like. And these people must lodge all alongst the said streets hindring their breadth as little as they may. & one lodging must not be any thing befoze another. The gates (as I haue said) shalbe at the ends of the streets, & shalbe shut with bars, and the trenches that are round about the camp,

may

may be commonly three paces broad, and two deepe: and if the enemies did lie neare, they might be made much broder and deeper, or if so be that the campe should stay long in one place without remoouing, and the earth of the same Trench must bee cast inward, and the corners of the Trench and foze must be laid out in the forme of Bulwarkes, and at diuers other places, so that there may bee bulwarkes and flankes round about, and by that meanes I dare say, that the Trench of the Campe shall be strong enough to resist the enemy his assaults without, and within. It will shew like a little Citie, equally deuided, and aptly distributed, as well for the lodgings, as for the publike places, so that to liken it wholly vnto a Citie, there would be no other difference, but that the stufte whereof the walles and houses are built would bee different, for the one is moucable, and the others do not sturre from their place, for in the other points they haue many things alike: and also a campe must be gouerned by lawes as a Citie is.

Moreouer, it must haue a certaine number of Magistrates & officers to gouerne it. I will speake hereafter of þ lawes, but now I must speake summarilie; yet orderly of the charge that the chieffes and principall officers ought to exercise in a campe. And touching the General of the armie, for asmuch as I haue promised that this second booke shoulde whollie concerne hym, therefore I will not mingle him with the other. The Chieffes whereof, I will speake heere are these: the Captaine Generall of the footmen, the Captaine Generall of the horsemen, the Colonels, the Captaines of a hundred men of armes: and as for the officers are these, the Chauncelour, the Marshall of the campe, the Threasurer, the maister of the ordnance. Of other chieffes I pretend to say nothing, for asmuch as their office and charge is well known vnto every man, that it wold be time lost, to speake of a thing so manifest and plaine. But to come to the matter. I saye that it were not amisse, that those two estates, to witte, that of the Captaine Generall of the footmen, and of the Captaine Generall of the horsemen, to be exercised by two marshals of Fraunce, or others of lesse qualitie might bee deputed therevnto, sith it is in the king, to chuse whome it shall bee his pleasure,

sure, and hee that must name them: for it sufficeth, that they are aduanced vnto these estates, and created by his hands: nor we must not dispute whether these, of whome I speake heere, are those which in times past were called *Magistri Militum*, and *Magistri equitum*, or *Præfeti Militum*, and *Tribuni*: for it were better for vs to imitate the auncient Romanes, in that they did duely exercise their charge, then to spend time in these curious matters.

Therefore I will speake of the charge of their offices, which is this: the Captaine Generall of the footmen, ought to haue a regard that his Legions should bee lodged the most commodiously that they might bee possible. He ought also to haue a care to keepe his men from mutinies, or if so bee that any did happen, to quench the immediately by some good meanes. Moreover, it is his charge to iudge controuersies that come before him to be determined, and to giue such order therein as appertaineth.

Also he ought to cause the Legions oftentimes to bee raunged in battaile, to view whether they haue their full number, and bee in state to fight: for not doing this, he shall thinke himselfe to bee strong enough to vanquish his enemies, when he hath not enow to defend himselfe against them, nor skant the one halfe of those hee made his accompt of: because that men doe dye, and diminish by diuers meanes, so that the Legions do want their numbers: insomuch, that who so doth not take heed, shall find himselfe greatly weakened of Souldiers in a short time. Wherefore the sayd Captaine Generall must looke vnto it, as often as he may, causing the Colonells to shewe their rowles, who must giue him reckoning of the number that they doe want in their Legions: and it is his duetie to make reposte vnto the Lieutenant Generall, for to haue order that the Banderes may be speedelie furnished with their full number, if so bee that they bee in place where it maie bee done: or to take counsaile thereupon, for to measure his enterprises and power, with the force and strength of his enemies: this doing I doubt not but that his busines will fall out according vnto his will and desire.

I would that thys manner of visiting the bandes, from time to time, had bene in vse at that time when as the king helde his siege befoze Pany, for hee had knowen his estate better then hee did.

The charge of the said Captaine General of the footmen extendeth also vnto the practising of souldiours, vnto whome hee ought to bee assistaunt, as often as the said legions shalbe exercised togeather, or one alone. In summe, he is appointed to haue a care of all that appertainerh vnto the footmen, to counsaile the Lieutenant General of the armie, and to ease his burthen as much as possibly he may.

Concerning the charge of the Captaine Generall of the horsemen, he ought to look into all y^e passeth amongst the horsemen, as the other doth into al y^e passeth amongst footmen, aswell for the necessarpe lodging of them, as for reuewes, exercises mutunies, and other things, and likewise that euery horseman should be furnished according vnto his estate. Moreover, aswell this Captaine Generall as the other, ought to bee expert in the warres, and the one to know howe to exercise the others office, for that it is not sayde, but that at a neede, they might put their hands vnto both. To be short, these two chieffes shall sometimes visit the watches round about the camp, & either of them, of himselfe shalbe asmuch worthe in a daye of battaille, as a General chiefe might be: not that they should command, or should do any thing of themselves, but I meane that they should be redie to doe it, when it were needfull, in absence of the Lieutenant general. They shal take the watchword of the Lieutenant General, and the one of them must afterwards giue it vnto his Colonels, and the other vnto his Captaines. As for the Colonels they must giue the watchword vnto their Sergeant Maiors, after that they haue receiued it from the captaine generall of the footmen. The Colonel his charge is to be circumspect that the captaines or souldiers, doe make no false musters, and to haue a regarde of the sicke and hurte men, to the intent, that they may bee diligently drest and cherished. Moreover, a Colonel ought to haue a care of the suppressing of Mutinies, and to appease Souldiers, when as they are mooued for anye thing,
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and ought also to haue a regard that the Legion should be well armed, weaponed, and in state to fight, and should be as readie, and practised, as might be possible: wherein euery Colonell must be diligent, and must raunge them in battaile himselfe, to the intent that they should neuer refuse to do any thing that should be commanded them, how hard or painefull so euer it were. And to haue them to be so, I say that there is no better meane then to accustome them betime to abide hardnesse: and better it were to do it in time when as they haue no neede to do it, then to deferre them vntill such time as they must do it, how vntwilling so euer they be, and by that meanes they would not be discouraged, although they should abide great extremities, for as much as they should be accustomed vnto necessities and labour.

A Colonell ought to haue intelligence of the crimes that those of his Legion doe commit, and to procede in iudgement vpon them after the manner that I will shew hereafter. Finally, amongst other things he must take heed to see good watch kept in his quarter, and to gouerne his Legion in peace & iustice. A Captaine of the men of armes hath the like charge ouer his horsemen that a Colonell hath ouer his footemen: and is charged as well to exercise his men, as a Colonell is to exercise his footemen, and to haue a regard vnto their armes and horses that all should be in good order, to w^et, that their armes should be whole & bright, their Horses well harnessed and shod to haue seruice of them hourely, and that the said Horses should be seruiceable, swift, long breathed, good trauailers, as gentle as may be, or at the least no strikers, for such horses are dangerous in a prease, for that one stroake of a Horse foote may spoile a most valiant man. We thinke I haue spoken ynough of these foure Chiefes, when as I haue said that they ought to ease one anothers burthen, and to keepe their people in good quiet, for as much as these two points do comprehend a great number in generall, but sith I haue spoken mine opinion of many other perticularly, we thinke I haue fully satisfied this matter. But yet I will say further, the foure aforesayd Chiefes ought to gouerne their people in such sorte, that there might no one

Souldier be found who should be the occasion of any disorder: but that all things should be so gouerned and moderated, that the Campe might be the harbour of all honest men, and their refuge and Sanctuary, within which, all things ought to be as safe, as in one of our Churches: and therefore there must a regard be had that the Souldiers might liue well within the Campe: and is also necessary to giue order that they should keepe their hands from taking other mens goods without the Campe, either nere, or farre off, except it be from their enemies, and yet not from them, without leaue of the Generall of the Army, for it is he that must permit (before that any thing may be done) that the Souldiers might spoile and bring away that they could finde, and vse it afterwards as their owne. But this rule is not obserued at this day amongst our Souldiers, they will not stay while the spoiling of a towne or countrey be permitted by the Generall, for they will take authoritie of themselves: and they do not only vse this liberty against their enemies, and in a conquered countrey, but also they handle those that yeld vpon the brute of their comming, long time before the army do come nere vnto their countrey, as ill as those who haue stood obstinate vntill the comming of the army, and vntill they are declared Rebels and enemies.

Yet if we will indifferently consider of the robberies, raunfomes, thefts, and violences which they do in Fraunce, not farre from their owne dwellings, we shall thinke that the hurt that they do after that they are out of Fraunce in another countrey, not to be strange: but I leaue that for this time, to take in hand to speake of the charge of foure principall Officers of the army, the one of which is a Ciuilian, and doth execute the office of Chauncelloz properly, for that he is an assistant vnto the Generall, as often as there is cause to speake of the administration of iustice, be it in Ciuill causes, or in Criminall, and in cases of complaint, whether it be one perticular person that complaineth, or a whole countrey: and for to aunswere the demaunds of Ambassadors, and the requests of a perticular person, towne, or countrey: and if any Proclamation should be made, it is he that ought to penne it, specially for that the
know:

knowledge of the lawes of the Emperours which are necessary, are not commonly in the heads of the Lieutenants Generals that are now adayes.

This said Ciuilian is to assist the Generall when he will make any newe orders, concerning any matter of consequncie, and finally, to make aunswere vnto Letters that do come from any great personage, chiefly, if it be matter of importance: in summe, he is called to all counsailes wherein there lieth any difficultie. And moreouer besides all these seruices abouesaid, he may busie himselfe to cause victuals to be brought into the Campe, and to all other places where any prouision ought to be layd, whether it were to victuall the Campe, a Towne, or for a passage: and yet this charge is more fit for the Marshall of the Campe, or for the Prouost generall, or for an expresse commissioner of the victuals, then for a long gowne; yet I haue seene the Lord Chauncelloz that is at this instant execute this office as well within Fraunce as without, continuing the warres that we haue had within these foure yeares. Before him I neuer knewe any of his qualitie execute that office: but to be a Counsellour vnto y^e Generall as is abouesaid, I do not denie, for I haue scene one with Mounseigneur de Lautrec, who vsed the title and office of Chauncelloz. Now to speake of the Marshall of the Campe, who is one of the principall officers of an hoast, vnto whome it apperteineth to place the Campe, and to distribute it into quarters, and to fortifie it: he also is to regard that y^e victuals should be equally distributed throughout all the quarters of the Campe, and that euery thing should be set in his place. The controuersies which are not vnder the Colonels, or of those that are not of the Campe, the complaints of victualers, of artificers, and of other mē of occupation which do follow a Campe, do come before him: he also must haue care of the sick men. The third principall officer is the maister of the Ordnance, who is of no small estimation at this day, because of the estimation that we do make of that instrument. His charge is, to cause his pieces to be well mounted, and to haue them furnished with great quantitie of shot and powder.

Moreouer, he ought to haue good Gunners, many Pioners, Smithes, Carpenters, Carters, and other people fit for the occupation of the Ordnance. It apperteineth vnto his office to be expert, to make the approaches befoze a place, for to batter it, to haue iudgement of himselfe, and also to be inquisitiue of them that knowe the place, where it may be best approached, and beaten, is weakest, and easiest to be taken.

Moreouer, he ought to haue vnderstanding in Mines, to deuise them, and to cause them to be made as they ought to be: which being made with iudgement, may do them great seruice that do besiege a strong place, and hardly will they be preuented. The Countie Pedro of Nauarre had the best skill in these Mines of any man in his time and ours: and by the meanes of them hath taken many Townes and Castles, as well against the King, as for him.

We may say that the Lord of Bury hath succeded in the said Countie his place, for he in mine opinion doth vnderstand this businesse as well as any man in Fraunce, or if I durst say, better: I should not greatly faile if I said better then any other nation. Concerning the Ordnance, it ought to be accounted amongst the most excellentest armes, as in the vse of it we do see the effect, but leaue that to it selfe which doth sufficiently commend it selfe: I do say, that he that doth exercise the office of the Maister of the Ordnance, must haue an eye vnto all those that do belong vnto it, and to punish those that do offend.

It had bin necessary that I had followed my Lord great Esquier, who is at this present to speake further in this matter: for euery man knoweth that he doth vnderstand this occupation better then any other man, but I haue neither had leysure to follow him, nor time to learne after other, wherefoze I will content my selfe with these Generalities which I haue spokē of, without passing further. Now it is necessary to speake of the Treasurer, who is one of the necessaryest Officers in a Campe, because of the charge that he hath vnder his hands, to wēte, the King his money, which is the maintenance of the warres, without which, it is impossible that an Army could be mainteined long, hauing to do with a strong,
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and obstinate enemy. The said Threasorer is to imploy the Kings money many wayes for the preferment of his seruice, moreouer, he ought to receiue the tributes, and taxes that the townes and countrey conquested do pay vnto the King, and that those that are vnder his obedience do contribute: or if so be that there be any league, and that the said league should furnish money and no people: he must also prouide that the Campe should be furnished with store of victuall, and must haue a care that euery man as well the great as the small, the Hponers, as the pprincipals, should be contented and paid their wages at the tearme that they ought to be paid, if you would that the King should be well serued, and that the souldiers should obey theyr Chiefes, and be men of good life. For if money do want, I do not knowe how a Camp could be mainteined, nor the souldiers kept from robbing, and committing of a thousand mischiefes: for I see no meanes how to correct them for any fault, when as necessitie doth constraîne them therevnto: but I do not say but that they ought to haue patience, and to haue a care not to offend, although that money be long a comming: for I do knowe well ynough that it cannot alwayes be brought at the time appointed, because of the lets that they haue oft times that should bring it, or that the thesaurie is sometimes so neere emptyed, that there must be a time to recouer newe: and therefore the souldiers ought to haue patience vntill it be leuped, and do ariue: but if the attending for it be too long, there is nothing more iniust then to haue men to liue by the winde, or without money, like vnto gray Friers. But then there must be daily a certaine quantitie of victuals distributed vnto them, and other things necessary for their liuing, and apparell to mainteine the, vntill that their pay do come: or for to abandon them to their owne discretions (that is to say, that they may take where they can finde it) which is a thing that ought neuer to be permitted but in an extremitie, and when as all other meanes do faile, for that this liberty is cause that the souldiers do fall into such insolencie, that it will be almost impossible to bring the afterwards againe into their right course: yet it is lesse dangerous then to see them to perish with famine, and to see the army to decay before our faces. The one of which two will happen if so be that

it be not foresene speedely, and the fault hereof must not be attributed vnto Chieffes or Captaines, when as we do know that they cannot haue wherewithall to nourish themselves & others, seeing that their wages is behind as well as the souldiers, and are as needy, or more needy, then the simplest souldier. If we will say that the speeches of the Chieffes do appease, & prolong the souldiers, I do confesse it to be true: but it is but for a few daies, & whilst the souldiers do giue some credit vnto their words: but afterwards when they do see that they are led from day to day with bare words, there will be no meane to keepe them contented any longer, but they will murmur after diuers manners, & will giue no more credit vnto their Chieffes afterwards: it might also be an occasion that they would not credit them at other times where as they do tell them the truth, and when as it shall be verie necessary to vse speeches vnto them: for one of the principallest point that a Chiefe ought to haue in recondemnation, is, not to lye vnto his souldiers, if that by vntruth may be found & discovered afterwards, because that at another time he shall haue much to do to perswade them to belieue him in speaking the truth, for that he hath deceiued them before. And although that there ought a regard to be had in this matter, yet at this day we would that lyes should stand in stead of paiment, & that souldiers should be pacified with words, & by this meanes the Captaine is discredited for a thing that may be remedied another way, & when all is said, to couer the Threasurers faults by another man, who oft times do play the Dukes in good townes, whilst the souldiers do sterue in a Camp, or do imploy the money that is due vnto souldiers, to their perticular vses, whereas they ought to leaue all other busines vndone to be at the Campe in due time. The Threasurer for the warres ought to prouide in such sort, that the souldiers, & all others that do take wages, might be paid at their tearme: and if so be that the paiment do stay certain daies after that tearme, that at the least the souldiers do not lose those daies, for reason would that the workeman should be paid his hire. And when as the said Threasurer doth know that it will be longer before money do come then were needefull it should be, he must aduertise the Lieutenant Generall incontinent, that order may be taken how euery man should liue: and that provision

nition of victuals might be made before hand, to be distributed
 afterwards vnto euery man according vnto his estate, to attend
 whilst that money doth come. And there would be no great
 hurt done if that the souldiers did knowe how long it would be
 ere that they should be paid, for some would saue their money
 and haue to spare that make no reckening to spare, thinking to
 receiue newe money at the ende of the moneth, such as do liue
 but from hand to mouth, without care what shall come after.
 By meanes of this aduertisement, the Captaines should not
 neede to content their people with words, & the souldiers should
 haue as little occasion to mistrust their Chiefes. And this is all
 that I do pretend to speake of the foure Officers or Magistrats
 aforesaid, who are to haue to do with many other things, but
 these that I haue spoken of are the most generall. I will there-
 fore returne to my matter which I left before, concerning the
 placing and ordering of a Campe: for diuision whereof, it were
 necessary that those that should haue that charge, should be ex-
 pert in the art of measuring, to the intent that immediatly after
 that the place is chosen, they may giue the Campe such square
 forme as is said, and afterwards distribute the quarters, places,
 & publike streates, & in summe, all that is requisite in a Campe,
 which doing, they shall neuer be constrained to stay long for the
 ordering of a Campe, for that they must keepe alwayes one
 selfe-same forme, and manner of lodging, without varietie at
 any time: and by that meanes euery man should knowe his
 place after once lodging, although that no bodie do shewe him
 his quarter, because that of himselfe he shall easily vnderstand
 what space, and how much place euery man ought to occupy in
 his quarter, which may not be vnderstood and obserued by those
 that do seeke to lodge their Camps in strong places, because y
 they are constrained to alter the formes of their Camps, accor-
 ding vnto the varietie of the scituation, wherevnto the Romans
 would in no case be subiect, for as I haue said before, they did
 alwaies fortifie by their arte the scituations which were weake
 of themselues, as we may do if we will, and vse it in the same
 sort that they did, or in better: for we haue Ordnance which
 they had not, albeit that they had certayne other engins,

which neuer haue been put in vse since the sayd Ordnance hath been inuented : neither were they of that violence that it is, nor so easy to be carryed too and fro. For the rest, it is knowne that the greatest part of theyr fortreffes were made of wood, which might not endure against the shot of those pieces that we do vse to beate places withall at this instant : against which there is no other remedie, but to make rampars of earth, and of the greatest thicknes that is possible, which yet can very hardly withstand them : and were it not that it doth yeld vnto the shot, and by that meanes doth kill it, a man should make but sozie worke in ramparing with earth, or with other matter, for it would be time lost, I do meane for the strengthening of a Towne, but not of a Campe : for that Camps do thinke themselves to be as strong in the field as their enemyes are, and consequently will not suffer themselves to be besieged & beaten with Ordnance, so that they neede not to make any such great rampars as I speake of, except that they be very weake, and feare to be forced to fight, or do forbear attending succour : for in these cases they must seeke by all meanes to fortifie themselves, and to haue all the aduantages that might be thought vpon : as to make plat-formes of earth, and caualiers rapsed high to beate round about the Campe a farre off. The Lord Constables Campe that was before Auignon, was of the most incomparable force of all other that euer I haue seene in my time for a camp scituated in plaine ground. By this appeareth, that we haue the meanes & industry to fortifie a Camp as well as y^e auncient Romanes had, if we do consider of the little force of their engins, & of the marueilous violence of ours. And furthermoze, that our rampars being of earth, we neede not to build towres or castles of wood, to the intent to be the surer against the violence of the Cannon, which breaketh & shiuereth to pieces all that it doth meet withall : wherefore we must not thinke y^e it would be hard for vs to keepe alwaies one forme of camp if we would : but also we must belieue that it is as easy for vs to do it, as it was for the said Romanes, and easier, because wood is hard to be found, but there is earth ynough to be had euery where.

In this passage I must speake somewhat of the considerations, that a Lieutenant Generall ought to haue when he will incampe neere vnto his enemies : before that he enterprise to approach so neere vnto his enemies , that the two armies cannot afterwards depart the one from the other without shame or battaille. He ought to haue consideration of his estate and force , to knowe whether his men haue a good will to fight or not , or if they are strong enough to doe it whensoever his enemies should assault him , or else I would not bee of opinion that he should put himselfe into that daunger: forasmuch as it would be to be doubted that his enemies would assaile him, at such time as he would thinke to lodge , and before that his Campe could be fortified . Suppose that he were not fought withall at that instant, I cannot thinke but that the sayd enemy attendant would famish him, or else the situation of the countrie must bee very fauourable. For to auoyd these inconueniences, the aforesaid Generall ought to looke vnto his busines: and if so be that he bee strong enough to deale with the, there is no daunger if he do approach them within Cannon shot : hauing viewed himselfe the place whereas he will plant his Camp, or caused it to be viewed before that his Legions do ariue . And the Legions being ariued , he must cause the Hastaries and Princes to keepe themselves in order of battaille , with their faces towards their enemies , and must helpe himselfe with the Triaries to make his trenches vpon the flanks , when as he is not sufficiently furnished with Pioners : and to inclose the other sides, he might imploy the seruants and boyes with other followers of the armie: all which should labour at the backe of the battaille being covered by the Hastaries and Princes. The Foxpoyne hope should be in their order of battaille, and the horsemen likewise. If the enemy would fight in the meane time, the Triaries should alwaies haue time enough to leaue their worke and to take their armes, and to range themselves in their order whilst that the Hastaries do make resistance , & so his battailes should by no meanes bee surprized . But let vs suppose that his enemy do make no great shewe to assaile him ranged in battaille , but doth giue him skirmishes all day long to trouble his people, and to keepe

them in armes to hinder the fortification of his Campe : this bzagge must be no cause of stay, but they must do the like by thē, and giue them good stoze of great shot withall, causing the Hastaries and others, as I haue sayd, to keepe themselues continually in battaile, and the Triarics to continue at their worke, not stirring from it vntill such time as the Campe were fortified and the quarters made. This done, the sayd Triarics must bee first lodged and the prouision immediatly. And after them the Princes and the Ordnance which must be brought into the place where it is accustomed to be placed. The Hastaries must afterwards take their places, and afterwards the horsemen: to wēt, the men of armes first, the light horsemen after them, and the Hargoletiers and Harquebuziers on horsebacke after them, and last of all the Foxlozne hope: so that those that ought to bee foremost when they should enter into battaile against their enemies, shall bee the last that shall bee lodged: and in lodging them after this manner, there might be no disorder nor cryings as there is amongst vs. For when our Souldiers are to bee lodged in Campe, euery man runneth to bee the first lodged, crying and making such a noyse that it is a confusion, oftentimes lodging themselves before their turnes, making no accompt to leaue their Ensignes and to abandon them, hauing their enemies in their teeth.

The Lord Marshall of Montian was in great distresse through this disorder, with his Quantgard before Montcailier: for that euen at that instant that wee looked that the Spanyards should haue assapled vs, our Ensignes were left from time to time without people, who were gone to seeke lodgings: albeit that they had no leane of him nor their Captaines, and in lodging themselves, God knowes what a noyse those gapers and cryers did make: and what was the cause of this disorder, but the disobedience that is amongst vs Frenchmen, who are so delicate that we cannot suffer want one whole day, but wee wast with griefe of it as snowe against the Sunne. Certainly the sayd Lord did his endeouour to stay them, and it was needfull for the daunger that we were in: and at that time was seen (as much as in any other place) the great want of order that is amongst vs:

us: specially in the morning in passing a little brooke, for except it were some of the first rankes of the Battailon, y others made no difficultie at all to breake, and put themselves out of their ranks, to passe at their ease one after an other over a little planke that was in the same place: so that it was our good fortune that we were not assailed at that instant: for the first should haue suffered the smart of the others negligence and disorder: and perhaps there might haue ensued some great inconuenience, as it was told me within two daies after when as I did arriue at the Campe, for at that time I was not there, because of the Commission that the Lord Constable had giuen vnto the Lord of Roberual, and the commaundement that he gaue me by his letter to accompanie the sayd Roberual with my hand, to cease vpon the ballies of S. Martin and Lucerne to the King his vse, and by that meanes I was not there: notwithstanding, I was told of it afterwards of all that happened in the Campe by men of credite, who were in the daunger afoze sayd very neere vnto the person of the sayd Lord: to wheet, the Barron Castelnan, and the Vicont Dorth, and since much better by the Lord Dambres, who told me all: & helped to repayze & couer the disorder, as others haue tolde me. Those cryings must not bee vsed amongst these Legions of whom I treat: they must be alwaies lodged timely befoze night, if it were possible. Which doing, vsing the manner that I haue so many times spoken of befoze, that is, the Campe hauing alwaies one selfe-same forme: it shall not bee needfull for the Souldiers to seeke their quarters, or where the bands should lodge, for they shall know y places of themselves, for they shall see where their Ensignes do stay, and by them know their places easely, and the Ensignes shall know their places as easely by the General his lodging, and the gates which shall be towards the foure Regions, as I haue sayd. All that may make any alteration in a Campe, is, that the first and second Legions shall be alwaies lodged next their enemies, and thereunto the Souldiers must haue a regard euery man vnto the place that he shall lodge in. Further, it must not be forgotten to appoynt certaine bands to watch: for that without watch, the fortification of the Campe, and all that may be sayd or done
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for these Legions would bee labour lost. But sith I am fallen into this matter, I will speake mine opinion of the Skoutes and Sentenells that are placed by night without a Campe, which is a custome that I cannot iudge to be either good or seruiceable: neither can I finde bypon what example they were grounded that were the first iauenters of this manner: for it is not after the manner of the auncient watches, at the least those that I haue read of, I do thinke that they had a more care to auoyd the mischief that might happen through the renewing and chaunging of the Skoutes and Sentenells: for that they might perhappes be sometimes corrupted with monie, or bee surprisid so neere, that the watch might not bee aduertised by them of the comming of their enemies: specially if it were so that the watch were kept after the French fashion, that is to say, if the Soldiers did sleepe their bellies full, in hope to bee wakened by the Sentenells, it should be in daunger to bee surprisid and to haue their throtes cut. For which cause the auncient men of warre made their watches within their trenches, and had no bodie to skout without: and by this manner of watch they were alwaies so well preserued, that they altered it not, but vsed very great diligence in it, and very good order, and punished all those with death that fayled of their dueties in the same, as wee may see in Polibius: vnto whom I send all those that would see the manner of their doing at large. We thinke that the reasons aboue sayd may suffice to shewe the profite of sending of Skoutes out of a fort: which is, that they do serue for no other purpose but to make the watch within to bee the more carelesse and negligent: for they do giue themselves vnto nothing but to play, drunkenness, and sleepe (as I haue sayd) whilst peraduenture the Sentenells do keepe as ill watch as they. But is not this a great fault to commit the safetie of a whole armie vnto two or three roysters, who haue neither regarde of honestie nor any other thing: and albeit that those that are Skoutes on horsebacke, are gentlemen, and men of credit: and likewise those that visite the watch do their indeuour asmuch as is possible, may not both sometimes be surprisid by their enemies, or may they not sleepe aswell as the others, and forget their busines, & by that meanes
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be slaine by their enemies: but may it not happen that their enemies might haue the watch word, or that they might gesse at it, and approach the Sentenells with false tokens giuen them to vnderstand that they are of their Souldiers: I knowe not who hath shewed vs this manner, nor what reason wee haue to obserue it at this day, men of warre being more subtile and politicke then they were in times past, except we will be boyd of reason to persist in a most euident and manifest error, whereunto I wil not from henceforth, that a Lieutenant Generall should consent, but that he should forbid it expressely. And furthermore, that for his ordinarie night-watch he do appoynt the one third part of his people, which are 16. Ensignes of footmen, to the intent that the Souldiers might haue two nights free: the one of which Ensignes must watch round about the General his quarter, and another must guard the Powder: two other Ensignes must bee placed vpon the two market places: for the maister of Ordnance his quarter is well enough furnished with gunners, carters and pioners. By this accompt there should bee in the middelt of the Camp one band of euery Legion, who shal guard the Generall and principall Chiefes, and also impeach the mischiefes which oftentimes do happen by night, and the excesses and thefts that are done more at time then by day. The 12. bands which do remaine, three of euery Legion shall keepe watch alongst the rampars in the emptie space that I haue left betwixt the rampar and the quarter: I do meane that three bands of the first Legion shall keepe watch against the quarter of the fourth Legion; and those of the fourth against the quarter of the first; those of the second Legion shall keepe watch against the quarter of the third; and those of the third against the quarter of the second: so that by this meanes the Souldiers should haue the lesse oportunitie to steale from their watch vnto their lodgings, which they would doe perhaps if their watch were nere their quarter.

The greatest strength of the watch must be at the gates, and at the fower corners of the Camp: and in stead of the Skoutes which we do send out to be the better aduertised of our enemies comming, the fourth part of the sayd watch must bee kept wa-
king

king, and so by that meanes the watch shall be deuided into fouer watches: and to proceede in this watch the more equally, so that the one watch might not bee more grieued or burdened then the other, the Generall his Trumpet shall signifie by his sound, at what time they ought to be chaunged, and for to do it iustly, he ought to haue some sure clocke, or the Marshall of the Campe should giue him the aduertisement. This charge might be giuen vnto one of the foure Colonells, who ought to watch euery man in his turne, euery night one: and each of them in his turne should haue the whole charge of the watch throughout the Campe. As for the horsemen, their office shall bee to search the watch, and should bee deuided into fīue night watches, that is, two Decuries of euery companie of men of armes, and the accomplishment of other horsemen after that rate. And if this number be thought to be too great (for it doth amount vnto 480. horse for euery night) there might bee but the one halfe of them appoynted, or any other number that might bee thought sufficient, and they might bee deuided into two watches, or more. Vegetius would that the horsemen should keepe Sentenell without the Campe by night: but he doth alleadge no reason for it; which is the occasion that I do not ground my selfe any way vpon his saying, sith I haue very good reasons on my side, and that I do presuppose that the Camp is a very strong place: but if it were in an open place, and without rampar, I do not say that I would not put horsemen out vpon the waies. As concerning the watch by day, they must do it that watched by night, or a great part of them. And then I would keepe horsemen abroad round about the Campe to see who goeth and commeth, and in so doing, the Campe need not to feare surprise. Concerning the giuing of the watch word, and the renewing of it euery euening, and sometimes to chaunge it foure or fīue times in one night, I will say nothing, nor of many other small poyntes that we are accustomed in this matter: for they are well enough knowne vnto euery man. Of one thing I do meane to speake, which may do them some pleasure that do make accompt of it, and contrariwise may do them some great mischief that do not regard it: that is, diligently to looke into all those that come into the
the

the Campe, and those that go out : and likewise vnto those that do want by night, and vnto newe commers: for this is a thing of great importance, and may be easely done, by the meanes of the diuisions of the quarters and lodgings, for that it is not onely knowne what number of people should lodge in euery quarter, but in euery tent perticularly, by which meanes it may be easily found if any do want, or if there were any newe commers. Those that do want, or do lodge out of their quarter, shall be punished as fugitiues, except that they had leaue of their superiours : and those that should bee found ouer and aboue the number, should be demaunded what busines they had there, & should bee constrained to giue an accompt of their qualitie thoroughly. This industrie will bee an occasion that our enemies could not practise, or haue conference with our Souldiers, how secretly soeuer they should go to worke. And mozeouer, there would this commoditie proceed of it, that is, our enemies should seldome knowe any sure newes of our estate, so that this obseruation might haue place, which is a great poynt : and hereof the Romanes made a very great accompt, as wee do finde written in many places expressely by that, which Claudius Nero did once in his Campe, being lodged nere vnto Anniball in Calabria, who departed so secretly fro his Campe to ioyne with Salinator, who was at Anconne against Asdruball, that he went vnto his companion and helped to ouerthrowe Asdruball, and returned with his people backe agayne into his Campe, Anniball not vnderstanding of his going or comming. Hardly could this be done at this present in a French Campe, for that all manner of persons are suffered there, and because y those are not punished that go out without leaue, what commaundement soeuer is giuen that they should not abandon their Ensignes : and wee may make what cries we wil either of this, or other things, sith there is no regard had to cause them to bee straightly obserued, nor to punish those that do contrarie vnto the cries : & yet there is nothing in this world that we ought to keepe so much in obedience as an hoast. And therefore Militarie lawes ought to bee most sharpe, and hee that hath the charge of Justice to bee most rigorous. Of this matter there shall hereafter bee spoken in his course.

course. To make an ende, I say that in the olde time when as they would raise their Camps, the Captaine Generall his Trompet sounded thzee times. At the first sound they tooke downe their Tents, and made their packes: at the second they did lade: and at the third euery man went into the field, and marched towards the place that the Generall did appoynt them. In our time the first sound commaundeth to saddle, and serueth in stead of their first. Our second commaundeth to put foote in the stirrups, and so was theirs. It would not be amisse that wee did keepe amongst vs the silence that the Turkes do vse in their departing from their lodgings, who do dislodge so quietly, that it is almost impossible to perceiue it by the little noyse that they do make: and their silence likewise in lodging is such, that a man might thinke them rather to be dumme, then otherwise: whereas we do farre differ from them, that whether it be in lodging, or whilst wee do abide in the Campe, or in our departing, wee could not well heare if God should thunder amongst vs. A Lieutenant Generall ought yet to haue diuers other considerations in the placing of the Campe: principally two; the one is to lodge in a healthfull place; & the other, that his enemies may not besiege it, nor cut it off from victualls, and water. He ought neuer to lodge in a marish ground, or in a place of ill ayre, for the auoyding of diseases: which is easely knowne by the scituation of the place, and the euill colour of the inhabitants that dwell there. As for the other poynt to be free from siege, he must consider of the nature of the place, and how he may keepe the way open towards his friends, and where his enemies do keepe and may annoy him: and thereupon to make his coniecture, whether he may be besieged, or recover victualls and other things necessarie in despite of his sayd enemies. An armie may be besieged and ouerthrowne without striking stroke, if it bee lodged where an enemy may drowne it, by breaking of Sluses, and fludgates: as happened vnto the Christians in the yeare 1221. being alongst the Nile nere vnto Caire against the Souldan: this matter must be looked vnto. And certainly, a Lieutenant General ought to haue great knowledge of y^e countries he must passe through, and to haue those about them that do know them.

them. The sicknesse and famine that oftentimes do happen vnto an armie, may bee auoyded by taking heed vnto the excesse that the Souldiers do vse, and to keepe them the better in health, there must bee prouision made that they may lye in tents, and a care had to lodge them in places where there are good store of trees to shadowe them from the Sunne and wether, and for to boyle their meate. It is also necessarie to take heed that they doe not trauaile in hot wether: and therefore in Summer they must depart from their lodgings befoze day, and be lodged againe befoze the great heate of day: and in winter they must neuer bee made to march through snowe and yce, except they may finde vpon the way wherewithall to make fire. Moreover, they must not be suffered to drinke ill waters, nor to be ill clad: for all these do cause great sicknesses, and they must be all carefully prouided for, of how base condition soeuer they bee: and this care doth binde the hearts of Souldiers moze vnto their Generall, then any other benefite he can bestowe vpon them. And in so doing it shall be for his owne profite: for if that he should haue warres with sickness, and likewise with his enemies, he might quickly be ouerthrowne, in resisting two such aduersaries. Exercise helpeth much to keepe mens bodies in health: wherefoze the Generall must cause all the Souldiers of his host to exercise themselves in armes once a day at the least, vntill that they do sweat, if not longer: for there is no better meane to keepe an armie in health, and to make it victorious ouer their enemies, then this.

Concerning the famine that may happen vnto a Campe, it is not sayd that a Generall ought to take heed but of his enemies only, that they should not cut off his vittuals: but furthermore he must foresee from whence it might be brought vnto him, and to giue order that the vittuals which he hath, do not too hastily consume, except he know incontinent where to haue others. And for to do well, he ought alwaies to haue one moneths vittuals in store for his whole armie. Suppose that he hath in his Camp of men of warre, and all other maner of people 40000. persons, and more: 35 Muys of Paris measure will suffice them a whole day honestly: out of euery one of which, as sayth maister Bude, will bee made 1152. loafes, euery one of which loafes will suf-

lice one man a whole day. By this accompt the prouision for 30. daies doth amount vnto 1656.

Concerning horse meate, Dates and Barley is good: but if that these cannot be had, there would be no great daunger if that they liued sometime without them, prouided that they did not want other foode, if it were possible, that is, hey, chaffe, or grasse: yet grasse doth weaken them greatly. The leaues and small boughes of trees are good for them, when as there is no better to be had, and the staulkes of vines: and for that they are hard, they may bee broken with mallets, and so the horses may eat them the better. But to come againe to my matter, I say that a Lieutenant Generall ought to take the townes in the countrie where he makes his warres, or his aliance, if that they bee nere, to bring a certaine great quantitie of victualls vnto his Campe to feed his Souldiers, if that monie do want, or to cause them to sell it at a reasonable price, both to refresh his prouision, and to keepe it for a need: for as all things that concerne the warres, may be trayned long: so also famine without helpe, will bring a Campe lowe, and ouerthrowe it in time: and an enemy if he can haue meanes to ouerthrowe it by famine, will neuer proue to ouerthrowe it by battaile; because that the victorie would bee so much the lesse bloudie and daungerous, although it bee not altogether so honozable. That which is sayd may suffice to auoyde this incouenience: and Justice, if it be obserued, will do seruice in an hoast: and the order which may bee giuen to hydle Souldiers from liuing after their owne willes, is likewise as necessarie as any other that can be named. And to proue this to be true, concerning the one, all men do knowe that if Justice do not gouerne in an armie, all things will go quite contrarie, and there is no victualler or other that will bring any thing vnto it. And as concerning the other, if there were no order, a moneths victuall would not last one day: wherfore Justice ought to be maintained, & whosoener should vse force against a victualler, ought to be grievously punished. Therefore euery Souldier must haue daylie giuen vnto him some such quantitie of victualls as he may spend in a day: & mozeouer, they must be forbidden to eat but at certaine houres. This would bee an occasion that the victualls
would

would bee the better spared : and that those that do liue this soberly, will bee much moze peaceable, watching, and healthfull, then if they should eate & drinke at all houres, as we don, which causeth many perticular quarrells, and the by aue muti es that wee see do raigne amongst vs. Furthermoze, if wee had moze people to lodge, then the number aboue sayd : I say that they may be lodged in the places in the middest of the Campe, and alongst the streates, or with the Legionaries themselves : for they are lodged at large. But me thinke that these foure Legions with their hoysmen, Chiefes, officers, and others, which I haue appoynted to followe the hoast, are sufficient to enterprise any act of what importance soeuer it were, for to fight with twice as many enemies as themselves. The best is, every man may vse his owne free wil, and make his warres with as great a number of people as he will himselfe. Wherefoze if the number were much greater, the Campe must bee of greater compasse then that here befoze spoken of, and notwithstanding it must be distributed like vnto it. If it were not that this second part would be greater then the first, and the third part too little in respect of them, I would proceed further: wherefoze I will breathe and rest my selfe here, to treat the better of the third Booke.

The end of the second Booke.

Quod si quis (non) The



The third Booke of Militarie Discipline.

How a Generall may helpe himselfe in the warres with di-
uers policies.

The 1. Chapter.



In this third booke shall bee shewed what meanes a Lieutenant Generall may vse to bring his warres to an end in short time. Suppose that after he hath ouerthrowne his enemies in bat- taile (as is aforesayd) that there doth yet remaine a certaine number in the field, or that there are certain townes who do stand vpon their guard like e-

nemies, or others which are not to bee trusted: the meanes how to haue an end of the one, & to bee assured of the other, are these. First of all, if there were any part of the countrie to be suspected to reuolt, if so be that it should be left in it intier: the Lieutenant General must excogitate some practise that may be for his profit, and damageable vnto those whome he doth suspect: as to commaund them to beate downe the walles of their townes, and to banish certaine of their citizens: (I meane those whom he doubteth most) and this commaundement must be giuen in such sort, that no towne so commaunded might thinke this charge to concerne others then themselues perticularly: and therefore the said commaundement & charge must be giuen in all the said townes at one instant, to the intent they might immediatly obey, & not haue respite to cōferre & take counsaile one of another. And as for the banishment of those whom he thinketh might make any cō- motion or rebellio in a towne, they must be deceiued in some ma- ner, as to bee made to beleue they shall bee employed in some busines,

*Policy to secure
suspected
persons*

busines, wherein the Lieutenant will do them good, in giuing
 them commission to do certaine assayes farre of, in some such
 place where they should haue no meanes to trouble him: which
 commission might stand in stead of an honest and couered ba-
 nishment. And as for those towne that are of great power,
 and so inclined to disobey, that for euery litle occasion they might
 refuse the commaundement of the Generall, there is no better
 meanes then to assure himself of them, assaying to surprise them
 at vnwares. And to colour his pretence, he must make a rela-
 tion vnto them of some enterprize like a tructh: for the execution
 whereof he is to vse their helpes, and must make shewe that he
 reposeth great trust in them, and that his intent is to some other
 purpose then to deceiue them. And in mine opinion, they will be
 perswaded without any great difficultie: and being once entred
 into this opinion, they will giue any such nūber of their towne
 men as he will require. And if the Generall do but sometimes
 smile a little vpon some of the principalls, they will bee forward
 enough to leuie the greatest part of their people to do him ser-
 uice: of whom he may make his profite afterwards, as if they
 were giuen him for pledges. Furthermoze, to bee assured of a
 towne, of whose loyaltie there is no good opinion to be had, the
 remedie that I see, whether it bee before the battaile, or after, is
 to imitate Pompei and others, which heretofore haue had the
 like busines: for Pompei hauing some doubt of a towne which
 is in Spayne, prayed the inhabitants that they would lodge the
 sicke men of his armie in their towne: which request being con-
 sented, he sent them vnder colour of sicke men, part of the most
 valiantest Souldiers that he had: who when they were entred,
 made themselves maisters of the sayd towne incontinent, and
 so constrayned them to continue in his alliance. Publius Vale-
 rius in like case to assure himselfe of the Epidaurus, caused (as
 we would say) a generall pardon to be brought from the Pope
 into a Church without the towne, and at the day appoynted for
 them to obtaine the sayd pardon, all the people went out of the
 towne, and left but fewe in it to defend it, but the sayd Publius
 and his men: who seeing themselves to be strongest, did shut the
 gates, and would not suffer afterwards any man to enter, but
 those of whom they were well assured. Some say that he cau-

Smiling vpon
 some of the
 principalls or
 men he desired
 by inferior
 sort.

Pompeys
 poetry

+ Publius
 Valerius

sed all the chiefeſt men to bee giuen for pledges, befoze he would ſuffer any of the inhabitants to enter. Alexander the great, when he made his voyadge into Asia, foreſeeing that the people which he left behind him ſhould not rebell after his departure, (ſpecially the Thracians whom he had newly ſubdued) toke all the principal of the countrie, and the flower of the fighting men, and gaue them many honorable offices in his armie, and all the places of credite, and carried them in his companie: in whose places at home he eſtabliſhed ouer the people of Thrace certaine men of ſmall qualitie: in which doing, he contented firſt of all the Princes of the countrie by vſing them well, as I haue ſayd: afterwards he vnfurniſhed the countrie of the beſt Souldiers they had, giuing them to vnderſtand that he would be ſerued by them in his enterpriſe (although that that was not only the end of his intent) and moreover he toke from the common people all their hope of rebelling, by taking from them all their good Chieſes and good Souldiers. We ſee then by theſe policies after what manner a Generall may aſſure himſelfe of thoſe whom he doth ſuſpect. As for the taking of the towneſ which holde ſtrong of themſelues, or which haue garrison of enemies, is a matter that ſhall be ſpoken of hereafter. At this preſent I will continue theſe matters of policie and foreſight: for they may ſtand our Generall in ſome ſtead in time and place. If ſo bee he ſhould haue any ſuſpition in any of his counſaile, to weete, that he did diſcouer his ſecrets and his eſtate vnto his enemies, he cannot vſe a better policie, then to helpe himſelfe with the fraud of this traytor, in imparting that vnto him that he hath no intention to do, and ſayning that he hath doubt of things that he feareth nothing at all, and that he deſireth that his enemies ſhould do thoſe things which he would in no caſe y they ſhould do, and this may be an occaſion that his ſayd enemies may take ſome enterpriſe in hand, thinking aſſuredly that they do knowe his ſecrets, and thereby he may ſurpriſe them at his aduantage, hauing deceiued them voluntarily. Ventidius helped himſelfe with this policie agaynſt the Parthians. If the Generall haue determined, or if he be conſtrained to ſend part of his people out of y Camp to ſuccour any man, as I haue ſaid, Claudius Nero ſuccoured his companion, and that they both were lodged very

nere

Wiſdom
of Alexander
to aſſure himſelfe

(in:
Diſcouering
Secrets & no leſſe
auguſt 45 miſchiſſe
of

See Dion

nere vnto their enemies; if y^e sayd Generall would that his sayd
 enemies should not perceiue that his Campe were weakned of
 people, he must leaue the lodgings of those that are departed in
 the same state that they alwaies were in, and the Ensignes like-
 wise and the same number of fiers that were there accustomed
 to be made: and furthermoze, the watch must be made as strong
 as euer it was. On the other part, he vnto whom the succour is
 sent, if he would deceiue his enemies, ought to take heed not to
 enlarge his Camp, nor to suffer any newe lodgings to be made,
 nor to make shew of any other Ensignes then those which were
 accustomed to bee seene, but those which come last must lodge
 with the first: to weet, Captaines with Captaines, Lieutenants
 with Lieutenants, Ensigne-bearers with Ensigne-bearers, and
 consequently officers with officers, and simple Souldiers with
 their like, like as those of the sayd Nero did with those of Sali-
 nator. If our Generall desire at any time to knowe sure newes
 of the enemies busines, he may imitate Scipio, who being in Af-
 rica against the Carthagenians, sent certain of his men in Am-
 bassage vnto Siphax, sayning to treat of an agreement betwixt
 them; with whole seruants he mingled certayne Captaines of
 his of the most expertest he had, who were simply apparelled like
 vnto seruants, expressly for to spie the state of his enemies fully:
 when as the sayd Ambassadors were ariued befoze Siphax,
 and doing their charge, the spies in the meane while tooke occa-
 sion to do their busines by one of their horses which they did let
 scape, to the intent to followe him throughout the hoast, and to
 marke all things at their pleasure: whereof they made their re-
 port vnto the sayd Scipio; who being aduertised of all, surprised
 two mightie Camps in one morning. A Generall might like-
 wise banish some one of his familiars, and sayne some great dis-
 pleasure against them, which might retire vnto his enemies,
 and from thence giue aduertisement of their estate; he may like-
 wise sometimes vnderstand their secretes by prisoners, and by
 spies that he sendeth into their Campe, vnder colour of bring-
 ing victualls, or to serue there for some other turne. And some-
 times some of the chiefest of the sayd enemies armie may bee
 corrupted, in suche sort that they may giue aduertisement.

*
 holding
 Feb. 14 p.m.

Ciu.

vnto
 by
 by
 by

*invention by
a githur*

For what is it that couetousnesse will not do amongst men? True it is, that for to maintaine these spyes and traytors, the Generall ought to spare nothing, because that the want of not hauing oftentimes newes of enemies proceedings, doth make vs sometimes to feele the smart of it: whereas onely good aduertisement might bee the occasion of the winning of a whole warre. For to proue what trust a man may haue in a towne, or in a whole countrie, he may helpe himselfe with the policie of Marius, who being occupied in the wars against the Cimbres, and willing to make proue of the faith of the Gaules, which dwelt in the parts of Italie, which we call Lumbardie at this day, and who were in aliance with the Romanes at that time, he sent them two packes of Letters, the one open and the other sealed: In the open Letters it was forbidden them, that they should by no meanes open the sealed Letters, but at a certaine day: but they could not so long forbear but did open them before their terme: and thereupon the Letters being demaunded againe by the said Marius, he perceiued manifestly that he ought not to trust them no more then needed.

Artifice

If a Prince were assailed in his owne countrie that would not attend at home for the warres, he may enter vpon another part of his enemies countrie, and by that meanes constrain him to returne for to defend his owne: I meane, if the sayd Prince haue his townes stronger and better prouided for, or his countrie stronger and more difficile then his enemies. If our Generall do find himselfe to bee besieged by his enemies in any parte that he could not escape without shame, or losse, in this case he may practise to agree with them, and to take truce: for in mine opinion they will then become so negligent, that easely he may escape their hands, or in the meane time while such agreements are in hand, or whilst he hath truce, he might practise to do his enemy a mischief: for it is then that the scourge will be giuen better then at any other time: and when the mischief is once happened, he may say: I haue been deceiued vnder shadow of true meaning: but to thinke that an armie ouerthrowne, or a place gotten, whilst the entercourse doth continue, should bee repayed or restored by the deceiuer, is a bayne hope: for I know
not

not what we would do our selues if it were so that we should at any time haue the like aduantage of our enemies. When the Generall should find himselfe at any time in that danger not to depart out of a place without vsing some pollicie, he must exco-
gitate all the inuentions that may serue his turne, and proue them all one after another, vntill such time as some one may do him good. Amongst others he may proue these two, the one is to assaile his enemies on the one side with a small number of souldiers, and the most resolute men: and with the others in the meane time to do all indenuour to open the passage on the other side, whilest the enemies are busied to resist their assaults; the other manner is to inuent some new thing to amaze his enemies, to cause them to keepe themselves close vpon their gard, doubting that this noueltie hath some dangerous taile after it, and this must be done by night to amaze them the more. Anniball escaped the hands of Fabius by that meanes, causing faggots to be made fast vnto the hoznes of a great multitude of Oxen that he had in his Campe, which being set on fire, he caused them to be driuen towards Fabius his hoast, and this sight was thought to be so wonderfull and strange vnto the said Fabius, that he doubted to be surprised, specially being in a darke night, he durst not start out of his fort vntill it was day. The said Generall ought to studie by all meanes possible to make his enemies to be iealous, and to suspect and mistrust one another, and beare as great an enuy one to another as might be possible: and this may he do, by preserving the goods and possessions of some of them, and by spoiling all that may be found of the others: and moreouer, by restoring their childezen, parents, and friends, that he hath taken in the warres, vnto their owne fathers and parents, without taking any raunsome of any of them: and it cannot be possible but that this good deeде will profit either to winne the hearts of those vnto whome the good hath bin done, or make dissention amongst them that haue receiued it, and others which will mislike it. We may likewise cause diuers persons to be ill thought of by certaine faigned letters, which may be made to fall into the enemies hands directed vnto certaine of the principallest amongst them: by which letters

Si Cusbo jany
 alind alid
 jodis. Kisse

Am. bally
 Subtly

Another artifice
 to make an enemy
 suspect one of
 another

Sc. Scipio. Ann
 in Tac. 393.
 Sc. Scipio. 101.
 Ann. 101.

How to make
 an enemy
 suspect
 Sc. Scipio. 101.
 Ann. 101.
 Sc. Scipio. 101.
 Ann. 101.

there may be shewe made of the handling of some practize with them, which may be an occasion that those vnto whom þ letters were directed, should no moze be credited as they were before, or at the least be looked at ouer the shoulder: of which mistrust this profit will proceede, that þ chiefest which are most esteemed, shalbe holden suspect, and therefore there will be but little credit giuen vnto their opinions, which is one of the chiefest goods that may happen vnto a Generall: and peraduenture it may be that those that shalbe so wrongfully suspected may be of that nature that they will thinke to reuenge the wrong that is offered them, or may cause them to absent themselves from counsaile. Their Prince might likewise be so suspicious, that he might reiect thē from his person, or might cause them to be slaine, as Iugurtha did cause þ chiefest of his Counsaile, because of the letters that Metellus did write vnto them, albeit they were nothing in fault. Anniball after that he was ouerthrowne by Scipio, retired vnto King Antiochus, with whome he was alwayes well entertained, vntill the comming of the Ambassadors frō Rome, who frequented him so often, and after so many manners, that the said Antiochus thought they had intelligence together, and therefore would neuer after be counsailed by him, and so worse Anniball lost his credit through the subletie of the Romans. It shall likewise not be amisse for the Generall to imploy his care to deuide the forces of his enemies, if the assembly be of diuers sorts of people, specially hauing meane to make a course vpon some of their countreys, for in sending thither a sufficient number of souldiers, those which are left in the countrey will quickly call their men backe againe for to defend their owne countrey. The Spanyards vsed this pollicy against our people, while the King was at Pauy: for knowing the number of the Grysons that were there (the which wanting, our campe was greatly weakened) for they sent the Castelein of Mur then being, or otherwise the Marquesse Mortane, to runne into the countrey of the said Grysons, for which occasion, they did abandon vs at our neede, to goe to defend their owne countrey, yet they might haue done well inough without going, if they had willed, considering þ force of the countrey where they dwell, which

Francis
forza
in running

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which in my iudgemēt is one of þ most strongest & hardest that
 may be seene: and besides, so well peopled, that the number of þ
 people which the Castlein cōducted vpon their frontiers, were
 not to feare them in that manner that they made shew: neither
 for the losse of one Castell ought they to haue abandoned vs as
 they did: notwithstanding it is one of the tricks that strangers do
 play ordinarily with those which ground themselues too much
 vpon þ waging of other people, then their owne proper nation.
 If the Generall should be in camp so nēre his enemies þ those
 of both parts did looke for the battaile from time to time, & that
 there were other people cōming vnto his assistance, if he feared
 that his enemies would goe & mēt them vpon the way to fight
 with them, to cut them off befoze they should ioine with him, he
 might make the brute to runne throughout his hoast, that euery
 man should be ready by an houre, or the next day to enter into
 battaile, and might let scape some prisoner that might aduertise
 his enemies of this determination: and in mine opinion this
 will be a meane to kēpe them together within their Campe,
 without sending any body out, nor diminishing their forces, ma-
 king their accoumpt to be fought withall at the houre spokē of,
 & by that meanes the bands which are to come, might arriue safe
 & whole. To giue an enemy an occasiō to weaken his army, the
 best way were to let thē to come far into the countrey, and to a-
 bandon all the towne vnto him that could not be kept out of
 his hands: and it is to be thought, that to kēpe thē all, he would
 put garrison into them, and by that meanes his forces would be
 deminished, & then he might be fought withall vpon the letting
 goe of his people, to embrace moze things then he could well
 defend. And furthermore, a Generall may sometimes vse dissi-
 mulation in his enterprizes: as whē he is determined to go into
 one countrey, to make the brute to run that he pretendeth to as-
 saile another, & must vse extream diligence to conquer the same
 said countrey which looked in no manner of wise for his cōming
 befoze they might be provided for to defend thēselues, or befoze
 his enemies might be transported thither for to kēpe it. If a
 Generall do vnderstand that his enemies are oppressed by fa-
 mine, or by any other necessitie, that for this cause they are as it
 were

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 Dissimulation

there may be shewe made of the handling of some practize with them, which may be an occasion that those vnto whom y letters were directed, should no more be credited as they were before, or at the least be looked at ouer the shoulder: of which mistrust this profit will proceede, that y chiefest which are most esteemed, shalbe holden suspect, and therefore there will be but little credit giuen vnto their opinions, which is one of the chiefest goods that may happen vnto a Generall: and peradventure it may be that those that shalbe so wrongfully suspected may be of that nature that they will thinke to reuenge the wrong that is offered them, or may cause them to absent themselves from counsaile. Their Prince might likewise be so suspicious, that he might reiect the from his person, or might cause them to be slaine, as Iugurtha did cause y chiefest of his Counsaile, because of the letters that Metellus did write vnto them, albeit they were nothing in fault. Anniball after that he was ouerthrowne by Scipio, retired vnto King Antiochus, with whome he was alwayes well entertained, vntill the comming of the Ambassadors frō Rome, who frequented him so often, and after so many manners, that the said Antiochus thought they had intelligence together, and therefore would neuer after be counsailed by him, and so poore Anniball lost his credit through the subtletie of the Romans. It shall likewise not be amisse for the Generall to imploy his care to deuide the forces of his enemies, if the assembly be of diuers sorts of people, specially hauing meane to make a course vpon some of their countreys, for in sending thither a sufficient number of souldiers, those which are left in the countrey will quickly call their men backe againe for to defend their owne countrey. The Spanyards vsed this pollicy against our people, while the King was at Pauy: for knowing the number of the Grysons that were there (the which wanting, our campe was greatly weakened), for they sent the Castelein of Murthen being, or otherwise the Barquesse Mortane, to runne into the countrey of the said Grysons, for which occasion, they did abandon vs at our nēde, to goe to defend their owne countrey, yet they might haue done well inough without going, if they had willed, considering y force of the countrey where they dwell, which

which in my iudgemēt is one of y^e most strongest & hardest that
 may be sene: and besides, so well peopled, that the number of y^e
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 Dissimulation

were desperate, and offer battaile in this rage: he ought to keepe himselfe within his fort, and to defer the combat as long as he may: and it may be that within few daies he shall haue them all at his mercy without striking stroke. A Generall may sometimes haue to do with people ill practised, and too couragious: who so much abandon themselves to pursue those that flye, that oftentimes there is no meane to retire them, vntill such time as they are foully beaten, so that if the said Generall wil looke to his business, he may easily find an oportunitie to do the a maruellous damage in a small time, for as much as he may lay his ambushes on þ part of his enemies camp þ seemeth to be most strongest, and where at no time there hath bin any fight or skirmish offered, so that the place be fit to hide his people: and ordaine his skirmishes towards the other part where they are accustomed to be fought withall, and must entice them so cunningly, that they may come all out of their Camp if it be possible: or at the least that the watch on that part that his men are hidden might come to see the pastime: wherein there is no doubt that they will keepe themselves from running out, so that the said Generall his men do retire sometime to entice them out so much the more, and to drawe them the farther from their fort. Which being done, the said Generall may giue a signe by certaine shots of the Ordnance, or by some other meane, vnto those that are in the ambush: at which signe, they must charge vpon their enemies camp so swift & fiercely, without being perceiued of their enemies, or of very fewe, that fort may be gotten before the said enemies do see into their owne errour. It shall be necessary sometimes when two armys are lodged neere one to another, that the said Generall should send out certaine of his people to ouerrunne & pillage the countrey that is in his subiection vnder colour of enemies, to make his aduersaries to thinke them to be their souldiers, or new succour that both come vnto them, & so running to meeete them in hope to haue their part of the pray, may be endamaged and surprised. A Generall may also make great destruction of his enemies, in giuing the occasion to eate and drinke disordinatly, I meane, hauing to do with those nations that are subiect vnto Wine. He might make shewe that he dare

dare not abide them: and for a collour abandon his Campe, which he might leaue in as great disorder as might be possible, to the intent to dissemble his pretence the better, and might leaue his baggage, tents, and all the rest in their estate, and his Campe as well furnished with Wine, and meates ready drest, as he might possible, to the intent that his enemyes entring after his departure, might fill their bellies with the victuals that his men had left: and when as the said Generall shall thinke his said aduersaryes to be ouercome with Wine, and sleeping like Beasts, he may returne vpon them, and ouerthrow them: for it is to be presumed that hauing them at that point, he might haue of them as good a market as he would himselfe. Grimault, King of the Lombards did once ouerthrowe the Frenchmen at Ast by this pollicie, and many others haue bled it. For to deceiue the enemyes, we ought oftentimes to change our manner of doing, or if not often, at the least sometimes: I speake not of the order of the Battailes, nor of the lodging of a Campe, nor of other generalities: but I speake of little small things, which haue but small shewe a farre off, and at hand do serue more then we thinke for: as this of a certaine Captaine, who to haue it signified that his enemyes marched through the countrey, caused a signe to be made with fire by night, and with smoke by day, and knowing that his enemyes were aduertised of these signes, and therefore were the more wary, knowing that they were discovered: wherefore to take them in the snare, he was driuen to vse some pollicy, which he did after this manner: that is, he appointed his people to make fire and smoke as well by day as by night, without ceasing, whether they sawe enemy or none: and that when as they did see the enemyes armye, they should make neither the one, nor the other. This being ordained as I haue said, was executed from point to point by those which had the charge, and when as his enemyes were in the fildes, the signes ceased, and thereby the Captaine of whome I make mention at this present, knewe that his enemyes approached: the which on the other part seeing the accustomed signes to faile, thought they were come the watches not knowing, and therefore they were so much the lesse carefull

to

*Amibrel
not Paul. King.*

*Lesca fuggi
the flame
cuopre*

*Mennon of
Rhodes sent
Strabagom.*

to march in good order : whereas the said Captaine was wholly provided, and comforted in his busines, waighting to charge vpon his enemies, which he did, ouerthrowing them quite, and destroying the vtterly. Mennon of Rhodes finding no meanes to drawe his enemyes out of a most strong place that they were in, to cause them to come to the Combat in an open place; sent vnto the Camp of his aduersaries one of his household seruants, vnder collour of a fugitive, who gaue them to vnderstand that the people of the said Mennon were mutined together, & that for that cause the greatest part went away at that instant : and to the intent that there might be the greater credit giuen vnto his words, there were sent away certaine bands, whome they sawe to depart from the said Campe : and so vnderstode that there was a great tumult, which was done of purpose : and being perswaded by the said fugitive to take that opportunitie, and moued through the disorder that they thought for a certaintie to be in the Campe of the said Mennon, they were so euill aduised, that they issued out of their strong place to assaile those who afterwards ouerthrew them. There are many other pollicies to be vsed then these that I haue spoken of hēerebefore, that haue bin put in practise to hurt an enemy, which I might haue inferred in this place, as well as those that I haue spoken off.

The order that the Generall ought to keepe in the besieging of a Towne.

The 2. Chapter.



Haue shewed before how townes suspected might sometimes happen to fall into our hands without striking stroke: those whom we do mistrust. But suppose that there are Townes, not only suspected, but also haue declared themselves to be enemies, so that there is no remedie but to proceede against them in this busines by armes, and to proue to conquer by force & which we haue failed to get by pollicie. In this busines there are two meanes to be vsed, the one is, to overcome the townes
either

either by assault, or by composition. In the first we may likewise vse two other meanes, to wæte, force mingled with fraud, or manifest violence: I call it force mingled with fraud, when we haue any intelligence with the souldiers of the garrison, or with the Citizens: by whose meanes we attaine to get or win a good part of the inhabitants, or of the men of war who keep the townes, to enter into them the rest not knowing. I tearme it to be manifest violence when as we assault a towne vnlooked for, or at our first arriual, not staying whilst the Ordnance hath beaten the walls: or when we do assault it, after that there is a breach made. As touching that point that the townes do fall sometimes into our hands by composition, we must note that this composition is voluntary or forced. Voluntary hath place when as a towne doth deliuer it self from the iurisdiction of one, to giue it free vnto another, as Geneua hath done within these few yeares, hoping to be better gouerned by the Switzers, then she was by her Duke. And Casall of Montferat called in the Frenchmen, and gaue her selfe vnto the King, desiring rather to be on his side then on the Emperours: I knowe not vppon what consideration this said voluntary composition is grounded: likewise when as a towne doth giue it selfe vnto a Prince to be mainteined against her enemyes, as Genes did, who gaue her selfe vnto King Charles the seuenth, throwing her self into his armes, to be defended from King Alphonfus of Naples, who made her warres: but because this pæce doth nothing serue my purpose, I will leaue it aside, and will speake nothing of it. Concerning forced composition, either it proceedeth of a long siege that is kept befoze a place, or through the courses which are continually made, not besieging it neere, by which courses the countrey is ouerrunne, pillaged, and destroyed, and the goods of the inhabitants, and of those that are retired thither, if they be of the countrey: and furthermore, in keeping them subiect in such sort, that they can not issue out of their gates, without danger of their persons: nor suffer victuals, or any other provision to enter without great difficultie: for which cause, the sayde inhabitants shall be constrainned to yeld themselves and their towne vnto those which doe so hardly

hardly deale with them, least they should be afterwards enill b. sed. Also towne sometimes yeeld themselves not seeing their enemies, finding themselves too weake for to resist them. The two meanes then which are vled to get Townes are those that I haue spoken of. Wherefore a Lieutenant Generall may helpe himselfe with either of them which he findeth most easie, and may practise it after that manner that a wise Captaine ought to put it in execution. He thinke he may vse it after this manner that I am about to declare, except he may be better counsaied, and that is, before all thinges he diligently enquire of all the points that concerne this busines, that is to weet, whether the towne that he pretendeth to besiege, be strong by nature, or by arte: whether it be subiect to batterie or no, and to haue it in portrature, with the scituation of the countrey round about it, if it be possible. Furthermore, whether it may be mined or not: whether they do keepe good watch, or do doubt any thing: whether they do make any preparation at that instant, or haue done it before hand: whether it be well furnished with all store, or if it want, if it may be victualled from time to time, and relieved in despite of those that besiege it: or be cut off, that neither victuals nor succour can enter: what garrison it hath: what Chiefs: what will the inhabitants haue: and finally, whether the said inhabitants and souldiers do agrée together, or if there be any controuersie and factions betwixt them. Which aduertisements are of such importāce, that they deserue to be bought with their waight in gold: and to this end a Generall ought to entertaine certaine good spies, and should seeke to haue intelligence in many and diuers places, to be aduertised often and perticularly of all things truly: before he thrust himselfe into this daunce: and after that he hath knowne the truth of all things, of his enemies estate, he must make his principall foundation vpon one of the pointes abouesayd, which is best for his purpose: as if the towne be much easier to myne, then to batter, he shall ground his principall hope vpon the myne: or if it were ill victualled, he might attend to conquer it through famine, or may vse any of the other meanes which he thinketh may helpe himselfe best. Aboue all things he must rather vse
force

force mingled with fraude: then with manifest violence; if it were so that hee might vse either of those two forces which hee thought best: and if so be that he should haue to do with a strong and puissant towne, I would neuer be of opinion he should vse any force, if he might haue it louinglie and by honest composition: for besides that, that hee shall auoide a meruelous cost, and the death of many honest men, which may happen on both sides, he shal keepe the same towne afterwards which he hath gotten by the saide composition with lesse difficultie (the inhabitants nor others hauing receiued either shame or damage by any of his) then if he conquered the by force of armes: and consequentlie if they weare hurt in bodie or goods. To win them then by this gracious meanes, a Generall ought to spare neither money nor wordes; money to corrupt the chiefest, and those he haue credit among the communalitie; and words to perswade the inhabitants, or the Souldiers by liuelie reasons that they ought to yeelde: and for that this office may not well bee executed by himselfe, not hauing the commoditie to vse speech vnto his enemies but in his host, hee ought to haue about him men for to handle this busines who are great perswaders of themselues & sayre speakers. The Trumpetters and the Drummes ought likewise to knowe this art, for because that they are much more permitted to go and come euerie where vpon euerie light occasion, then are any other of greater mettle. There may also be others sent vnder collour of fugitiues, & by the may al meanes be practised to taste the minds of his enemies, and to cause them to yeelde vnto his will, not constraining them at all. When there is question to win a towne by such like meanes wee must first consider the occasion it hath to defend it self: to wit, if it bee the townes owne proper quarrell, or if it touch them little. Afterwards if the quarrell bee theirs, to knowe truelie if any extreame necessitie hath constrained them thereunto or not: as if it had rebelled against the King, & that it had committed some heynous facte: I speake not of the townes of this Realme: who are inhabited with people so well minded that it is not to be thought that euer they will fall into this cryme, & therefore I need not to speake of them: but when I speake of Townes, I

meane those that are out of the realme which euer and anone do rebell and reuolt, and in reuolting doe sometimes kill their gouernours, and cut in peeces the garison they haue: we must think that those townes where this like offence should happen, would fight & defend themselves much more obstinately, then if they had not any waies offended: because of the punishment by their offence deserueth: which (according to their opinion) will fall vpon their neckes, if that they may be ouercome. We may likewise make our accompte that the townes which by nature doe hate vs, as the English-men and the Flemmings: or which haue our honoz in ielousie and desire to rule ouer their neighbors, as the Spaniards, and the Almaines, will peelee as late as may bee possible: and with greate hardnes will they be gotten without vsing of force. Notwithstanding a Lieutenant General shall make a pzoofe before all other things if the two champions, I haue spoken of, to weet, giftes, and words, may do him any seruice: for many good townes, and places impregnable, haue bin conquested in shorte time by them two: and many things that were thought impossible, haue peeled easilie at the length, through their meanes. Therefore they that shall haue the charge to conferre with these said townes, or to summon the in the behalfe of the General, ought to imploye al their wits to take from the inhabitants, rebels, as others, this saide necessity, and afterwards there obstinacie, in promising mountaines and merueyles, and that they shall bee pardoned, if they feare to be punished for their rebellion. Likewise if it be against a people that are in doubt to leese their libertie, and which haue learned to liue vnder their owne lawes not obeyeing vnto anie man, they shal giue them to vnderstand that it is better for them to be gouerned by one only Chiefe, the by a whole comunaltie: so by they may be maintaned in good peace possessing their goods with quiet, without being molested or tyrannized by any man: whereof they might bee sure being vnder the protection of so a good Prince, as is he, for whome those words are spoken: and furthermore that by King his pretence doth extend but to quench the ambition of certaine perticular persones, and not that the people should come into bondage: shewing them mozeouer the
mischiefe

moreouer the mischiefe that may happen vnto their towne if it were besieged, & to the country round about it, and besides the desolations, murders, forces, and violences, which are made in the taking of a towne, & to giue them the better encouragement to this matter, to shewe the welfare that maye happen vnto the in generall, in hauing of the good fauor of so mighty a king. Concerning the townes that are not constrained to defend themselves through any extreame necessity, but onely make wars to take part with others, wee must say that they make warres of themselves, or that they doe fauour an enemy: if so bee that they make wars of themselves, there will not bee so great difficulty to win them, as when they do defend themselves of necessity, for they will soone be weary of the great expences and danger that they do put themselves into for other mens quarrels, & in thys case, there must be faier promises made to winne them, to cause them to abandon the aliance of the said enemy: but whenas they do but fauour an enemy, it is either with the consent of the inhabitants, or against their willes: if it bee against their willes, the way is open to perswade them all that the aforesaid Generall will: and if it be with their willes, there must bee paines taken to corrupt the principall Chieffes, and certaine Captains, or other officers amongst the souldiers, who may make them to beleue that their towne is not defencible, or that they should not be succoured in time, or if the towne did rāpar, they might hinder fortification by working slowly: & if they were souldiers, & did worke, they might sow some voice amongst them, to cause the to refuse to do it: saying that it is a worke belonging to pioners, & not to souldiers, & if they were pioners, they ought to cause them by some means to go their waies, to the intent the towne might by no means be found strong nor rāpared when it shold be assaulted, but be constrained to yeld to vs by & by. These corrupted peple may also cause the provisions to be consumed by the souldiers, saying to giue no regarde therevnto vntill that all were spent, as Frauncis the Lord Marques of Salusse did, at the time that hee should haue kept Tossan for the king, who plaid his part so subtilly before that hee turned his coate throughlye that the towne at there neede, was in all poyntes in as euill an estate,

to defend it selfe, as the Emperour might haue wished it to be; and notwithstanding it held certaine daies, making of necessity, a vertue. These things might rather be put in proöfe, then the vsing of force. We must consider if the towne which he doth practise to get, be in estate to abide a siege, and to continewe it long or not, and if it bee sufficiently prouided, and alwaies kept with good watch, the meane aforesaid must be put in proöfe. But when as it shalbe vnprouided of things necessary, & hath not begunne to prouide before hand, it is then time to absoord it, whilst it is vnprouided. The Spaniards tooke this oportunitie when as the Lord Bonneuall did but enter in at Lodes: for before he had deuided the quarters, & appointed what part euery band should keepe, they were at the gates, wherupon the said towne finding it self vntready in al points, was won by assault. We must therefore take these oportunities, & not let the slip, because it is to be feared, how little leasure so euer they may haue, & whilst we go & come, that they would make the place strong, and furnishe it with all that it should haue need of, which is an oportunitie that ought to be taken from an enemy, & not to be giuen him. Therefore if the said generall will haue this aduantage, or other vpon his enemies, he must haue a care to know their busines trewly, as I haue said: & determine therupon afterwardes how he may proceed most surest. In mine opinion, if a towne be in diuision, to wit, if there be strife between the inhabitants, or amongst the souldiers, or between the inhabitants & the souldiers, the general ought not to leese such an oportunitie, but to do al his endeour to come before it, furnished with many ladders to stail it, & with other light ingins, to beat down gates and walles, whilst they within do think vpon other matters, & these enterprizes must be executed in comming far of: for how furder of the generall doth come (so that he make great speed) the more he shal amaze his enemies, when they shal see him at their gates, because they doubted nothing: at which place when he is arriued, he must assault it so quickly, & hotly on al sides that the inhabitants should not know vnto what Sainct to bequeethe themselves, except they yeeld at the very instant that he did somon them. for if he giue them but a quarter of an hower respite to counsaile together, & look about, he

he shall finde that the common daunger wherein they are all,
 that are with in the towne, wil cause them to remember them-
 selues, and to defend their persons and town together: whereas
 if he do not giue them leasure to bethinke themselves, beeing so
 suddainly surprized (with the distrust that they haue one of ano-
 ther) the greatest hast that the town will make, wil be to yeld
 it selfe. We thinke also that a towne where there are diuers par-
 takers (as in Italie) may easily be gotten, by means of intelli-
 gence had with one of the partes, who might giue enteraunce
 into the towne, at some place, were it by night or by daye:
 or if the walles were well kept, then those with whome the
 Generall had this intelligence, might seaze vpon the best pla-
 ces and strong buildings within the towne: and at some certain
 signe giuen, he might appoint to beginne the boyle within, and
 assaulte the towne without at the gates and walles, which do-
 ing, I dare beleue, that the most hardiest, and most assuredst a-
 mongst them, would abandon their defences incontinent, to saue
 their liues, seeing the to be assaulted in so many places at once.
 By that meanes was Genes taken in the yeere 1527. in the
 name of the king, by the Lorde Caesar Fregose. I make mine
 account, that if the said Lord had þ last time giuen intelligence
 vnto those of the league, as he did at the first, that it had bene ta-
 ken againe without any difficulty, and that he had not bene re-
 pulsed as he was. But he meaning to surprize it by full assault,
 doubting that if he aduertised his friends, that those of the con-
 trary part shoulde haue knowen it also: and trusting his parta-
 kers would haue bin ready enough, when as they should heare
 his name cried, would not that any man shold know of his com-
 ming: which was cause þ his partakers had rather at his com-
 ming to keepe their town with one common accord, with his e-
 nemies then not taking arms, to abide þ aduenture, not know-
 ing for whom or what. It may bee also that they doubted that
 they shoulde haue had their rewarde with their contrary parties,
 if þ Frenchmen had gotten the town at that instant: for that in
 such like busines there is no men spared, which is an ill case, and
 ought to be looked into: for it is enough to choke all those that
 might haue will to receiue vs into their townes, by the meane

that is spoken of, knowing that diuers other haue bin euill vsed. Moreouer as it is good to besiege a towne before it be provided of those things y^e it hath need of: so is it as couenient to assault it, when as it doth stand vpon his gard, both for the little estimation that the Citizens will make of their enemies, thinking that they wold not assault thē, specially if they were far of: & for that their Chieffes are men of so small experience, and the people & souldiers so subiect to their pleasures, that they would keep but little watch or none at al. And for the handling of this busines, a Generall ought to chuse some one in his armie that were a sufficient man to execute an enterprise of great importance, & giue him some such number of souldiers as were thought necessary, who should be furnished with victuals for a certaine time, causing thē to carie it at their backes to take the lesse baggage with them at their departure. And although y^e said General were far of that hindreth not, so that hee make shew to some other place, and giue out speech so: or that he that is sent do depart by night secretly. In laying these enterprises to worke, hee must foresee whether that after the town shalbe taken by his men, it may be defended against those that would recouer it againe from them or not, for it is not al to get into a place, because it is a thing that may be easily done, by means of the surprizes that may be vsed in such cases, & of the intelligence that may be had: but in keeping it afterwarde is all the difficultie, if y^e it bee entred with an opinion, that is to say, with too little compaignie: especially if the town were deuided, & that the one league did maintain the contrary part, for it wold be to begin againe a new euery day, except the said league were driuen out at that instant that it were takē, or y^e the principals were laid hands on, & those that might cause any commotion, which is one of the best remedies that may be vsed, & to make some part of the towne strong, to haue their refuge to it at their need: when as all the town could not be kept, or y^e the surprizer should be repulsed by his enemies, who might be brought into the same towne by his contrary party, if so be y^e the towne were left in her entire, which wold be a great oversight. For it is to be presumed, that if succor should cometo them which were strong enough to thre out the garison that they by
and

and by would ioyne with them: and so those that thought themselves to be maisters, shall bee diuened out againe: and might bee taken, in taking : by suffering their aduersaries to haunt amongst them, & wanting place of safetie, not hauing made some fortresse before in some part of the towne, to retire vnto at their need, as I haue sayd. If it were so that there were neuer a Castle in the sayd towne, or if there were any which were not in their custodie : in whiche case likewise the surprizers must looke well vnto their busines, because that if within the towne there be any Castle or Fortresse which is in the hands of their aduersaries, they may at all houres be assaulted by it: for that the sayd aduersarie may receiue ayd at all times, specially if the sayd Castle haue issue into the fields. And it helpeth not although that the inhabitants of the towne did call them of their owne free willes, if that their enemies be stronger then both they and their assistants: for that the sayd enemies may haue entrance into the towne by the aforesayd Castle at all houres, except the towne were very well fortified, and that the passage out of the sayd Castle into the towne were rampared in such sort that they might abide all commers, or els it is to bee thought that they should bee constrained to leaue their prize, what helpe or fauour the inhabitants might giue them. And besides that they shalbe constrained to leaue their towne so, they shall be in hazard to be ouerthrowne, and the towne pillaged, as Bresse was. The Venetians which had taken it with the consent of the citizens, being ouerthrowne by the Lord of Foix, who got this victorie by meanes of the Castle which held on his side. By Lord Marshall of Foix got Cremona againe also, by meanes of the Castle : although the towne was not pillaged, nor those that had caused it to rebel, slaine: yet was it in great hazard to haue been sacked. Casall of Mountferat hath felt the sinart of it, and those which toke it likewise: for the towne was sacked, & the Frenchmen that entred into it were all slaine or taken. It is therefore necessarie to looke well into this busines, before the taking in hand of a matter so dangerous, and to go so well accompanied that an enemy may haue no aduauntage, although that he had intelligence within the towne, or that the Castle (if there were

any) did take his part, by whose ayde he might recouer that he had lost. But let vs passe further, and let vs put case that the townes which do resist are so well prouided of all things, and so well guided, that there is no hope left to conquer them, by surprise, nor by intelligence, nor otherwise then by méere force. We must say, that if the aforesayd Generall do go to besiege one of them, he ought to do it with the determination not to depart frō it untill such time as he haue taken it: for that if he besiege a towne, and do depart without the taking of it, he doth giue the other townes so much the more encouragement to resist him. Wherefore the sayd Generall ought to consider before hand of the force and strength of the towne he pretendeth to besiege: to know whether it may be taken or not. If it may be taken by anye one of those meanes that townes are accustomed to bee won, althogh that it be furnished with things necessary, let him go boldly. But if so be it were so strong of people, & so wel prouided, that it would bee inuincible, it would bee time lost to proue it: besides the shame and the losse that he should receiue. In this case hee must try another way, that is to see if he might in continuance of time get it with long molesting it: which to do, he must put his people round about it into the other towns & forts that are at his obedience, and distribute them by Garisons, by which Garisons there may bee courses made howery against the towne which he doth trouble, pretending to conquer it by that meanes. And if there were no townes neare enough, the said General might keepe a flying camp round about it, the which should neither bee farre from it, nor neare, and in mine opinion, it is better to followe this counsaile: although it were somewhat farre of, then to besiege such a town with all his force at hand: for by meanes of the courses that may bee made out of the Garisons, it wil bee a great maruaile, if the towne at length doe not famish, or do not agree to some composition, howe long soeuer it do hold out. Besides that there happen accidents from time to time vnlookt for, which may make a warre quickly won or lost: whereas to enterprise a thing impossible, is as much as to beat a man his fist against a wall, and there can no good proceede of it: considering the expences that shall bee made to no purpose

purpose; the losse of time, and valiaunt men that are destroyed at suche like places: so that who so would make account of the paines taken in the besieging of a strong town, and that which it costeth before it bee conquered by force of armes, with the profite that the conquerour hath afterwarde when it is in his handes: shall finde that the paine and the charges doe farre surmount the profite. And I dare saye, that the conquest of a great countrey may bee easier made, then the taking of one of these strong and obstinate townes, for in conquering a Countrey, wee might helpe our selues, with our Militarie Discipline, and win a battaile, through good order, if it come there too: but to take one towne well in order, there is a thousand difficulties. But sith I speake of these strong townes, I wil declare what towne or place it is that I esteeme to bee inuincible or at the least very hard to be taken, & against which, we should get more by making wars warlike out of garisons then otherwise, for that there is no other meane to entice the Garrison of the same towne, into the fielde to fight with it. I saye that towne is inuincible, that is, as strong of people, and as well furnished with all provisions, as are those that doe besiege it, besides the fortreffe of the towne which the besieged haue for their aduantage, as the Spaniards had, being besieged within Naples by the Lord of Lautrec, who were as strong in all points, as wee were; excepting good hartes. Or although the saide towne be not altogether so strong of people, at the uttermost if it haue men enow to furnish the walles and Bulwarks round about it from place to place: and moreover a good number to defend the breaches which those that are without, might make. And if a Towne bee so furnished although that the walles, and the other defences be not of the best, yet it may be accompted to be most strong: because that the surest walles, and defences that may be made, are men: so that they be good. Euerie man knoweth wel that Perone was too weake of it selfe, to resist the one halfe of the armie of Flemings and Almaines that did besiege it: notwithstanding the vertue of the Lord Marshall of the Marche, and his men made it inuincible. It is but 18. yeares since Meziens was founde vnprouided of all thinges necessarie

to make a Towne strong: and notwithstanding the Frenchmen, which were within it, amongst whose principall Chiefs (as I haue vnderstoode) was the Lord Constable, did keepe it against the power of an Emperour. The Lacedemonians would neuer suffer that their Cities shoulde bee enclosed with walles, saying that the people woulde become lasie and of little valew: because that they would put their chiefe trust in their fortreffe, and not in their armes, and in trueth necessitie causeth many great matters to be done: specially if the men employed in this busines, are somewhat couragious, as the said Lacedemonians were, who were oftentimes assaulted by their neighbours, and others of great force: and notwithstanding they kept their city alwaies against all men, without making ditches or walles. It is then the vertue of the men that make a Towne principallie strong, and inuincible, whilst they haue victualls and where with all to defend themselues. Furthermore I may say that it is hard to besiege townes and places that are strong by nature: for there is no man that would counsaile to besiege a Towne that were placed so high that it could not bee beaten with Ordnance, nor bee approached vpon any side to be assaulted, without being in danger of them within: as are many Castles vpon rocks, which can neither be mined, for the hardnes of the rocks wher vpon they are scituated, nor beaten because of their height. The townes that are scituated in moxie countries, or environed with sea, although they bee not environed vpon all sides, but vpon some one parte (so that y^e rest be good) or with some large and deepe riuer, are likewise most strong: and before them, a Generall may lose his time, if it be not a great hap: forasmuch as it is not possible to approche them but at a meruelous disadvantage. Moreouer, it wilbe a great hap, if the besieged bee not refreshed often, as well with victualls as with men, in the despite of the besiegers and they not knowing it, and such are most of the Townes in Flaunders: in Italie there are many, as Venice, Ferrare, Isle Gayette, Tarente, and others. Concerning the other Townes which are of the number of the most strongest in what place soeuer they are scituated, whether they be vpon hills, or in plaines, we must thinke that they haue bin fortified within

within this thirtie yeares : for those which were before , may
 not bee termed to be strong , sith the skill to rampare is come to
 light but sithens a short time. These then that haue beene ram-
 pared since that time, or in our time (which haue bin repaired by
 leasure, and not in hast) may be thought to be the most hardest to
 be conquered: before which there may be more lost then wonne.
 But where is this Generall that would stay before Padua,
 Teroenne, and Turin , and many other Townes scituated in a
 plaine, or before Veconnie, or Besse, and others which are scitua-
 ted high, except hee would depart thence with great shame. I
 thinke in my selfe that there is no man that would lose his time
 so. But, not to spake of Italie onely we haue also many townes
 vpon the Frontiers and within the Realme which may well be
 compared with the aboue saide. And as there is in Italie and
 Fraunce so there is in other places : and there will be more ere it
 be long, sith euerie man is busied with ramparing and making
 strong townes, wherefore the conquest of a country from hence-
 forth will be a most hard matter , I meane who so would plant
 himselfe before euerie strong towne , and where there is no hill
 or high place neare vnto them, from which a man may looke in-
 to the towne , or beate some parte of it : for then it might not be
 thought to be strong, except there were some remedy to be found
 against that anoyance. If the townes then against which a Ge-
 nerall doeth pretend to proceede in armes , are provided with
 greate number of people , or strong by nature , or artificiallie as
 are those I haue spoken of, he is not to meddle to besiege anie
 one of them, except it be farre off: or when as he shall be aduer-
 tised that anie of them is ill furnished with victualls , or other
 prouision: or that y^e use of the water might be taken from them,
 in such a cause he must not stay to plant a siege : for that one of
 these necessities may suffice to constrayne the most strongest
 towne in the world to render it selfe in short time, likewise if the
 Souldiers be ill paid, or if they be a smale number because that
 fewe consume in time : and that beeing ill paid they serue a-
 gainst their wills chiefly if they be strangers , who do nothing
 but for profit , and not for the maintenance of their proper
 quarrell. Howeouer al townes are not so strong, nor so wel pro-
 uided

uided that the manner of bestedging before spoken of ought alwaies be vled noz that regard had, and when as the saide Generall would besiege anie towne as strong as those before spoken of or any other of meane strength, whatsoeuer should happen vnto him, the order that he ought to keepe therein must bee as here followeth. Let vs suppose that he is in the field with his fower Legions and their followers, going towards a place which he pretendeth to besiege: me thinke that his campe may marche in that forme that I haue spoken of heertofore: to weet euerie Legion with their part of the Ordnance, and other carriages: the first Legion making the auantgarde: the second and the third the battaile: and the fourth the arriergard. The baggage appertayning vnto the fourth Legion may follow the third or at the taile of the forth, so that there be some horsine behind them and one band of the foxlorne hope. When the armie is vpon the way, the Lieutenant General should send some trumpet before to summon them although it were a day or two before the armie can ariue before the said towne, and after that the towne is summoned, when as the hoast is with in 3 or 4 miles of it, the said Lieutenant Generall shall send the Captayne Generall of the horsemen before, & the marshall of the feild with him, or some other expresse man of iudgment, or go himselve in person, if he geue not credit ynough to the: to vieue the towne, & to consider of the scituation and strength of it: and to see where it were best to place the campe. And to the intent that he that should haue this charge might not be hindred by those of the Garrison to take a sufficient view, he must be accompanied with some such number of horsemen as might be thought to be strong ynough to repulse those of the towne, when as they should issue out.

Howeuer he must be furnished with so manie bandes of the foxlorne hope, as might bee thought sufficient to succour the horsemen, and to maintayne the skirmish untill the Legions ariuall: and for a need to enter into the towne, if they saue a fit occasion, I meane if the Garrison were not very strong: and that these foxerunners, were stronger then they. If so bee that the towne were scituated in such a place, as it might bee viewed at ease, without danger of the ordnaunce, it might be done so much

much the better: but if it were so situated that it might be approached by no meanes vndiscovered, when they are come neare the towne with in Cannon shot, the generall Chiefe that hath the charge must go on the one side, and must disperse his people some one way, & some an other, to retyre vnto them if he were pursued: he might likewise cause some of his troops (skattering themselves) to approach neere vnto the town walles: and he himselfe (with one or two at the most) might goe about the towne as neere as hee might with safetie, to the intent to view and consider of the weakenesse, and strength of the towne, as neere as he might coniecture: & what part is easiest to be battered, where hee might plant his ordnaunce, and where the Campe shoulde be made. Whilest this is a doing, it will bee a great maruaile if those of the towne do not issue out vpon his men, who so doing, it shal be necessarie for the assaulters to meete the, and to charge them with such a fury, that they may drine the againe in at their gates, if it were possible: or at the least beate them them well: and with howe much more valew they do execute this charge, so much the lesse hurt they shall receiue of the ordnaunce in the towne, for that the townesmen seeing them to be mingled pell mell with their men, not knoweing wheere to bestow a shot surely, shal be constrained to leaue their shooting, fearing to hurte their owne men as soone as their enemies. I saw the like by the Emperour his souldiers before Monople, when as the Marques of Gwast came to betwe it, who charged them so whoatly, his men being so mingled amongst the light-horse of the towne, that the ordnaunce nor harquebusieres within the towne, could not shoote without spoiling of their owne men, yet the meddle was almost at the edge of the ditch. I say therefore that this first charge being handled as it ought to be, may worke many great effects: as to dismay the townes-men at their first actual, which is no smal matter. For this assault wil as much dismay them if so be that they be beaten at the first encounter, as it would embolden them if so be that they did resist the assailants, or haue the better hand of them. It is a thing of a maruailous consequence, to handle the skirmish at the first actual with courage: for it will make those within the towne to think that it would be impossible to resist a people of such valour, and there.

thercuppon will afterwards feare them in their heartes: for to say the truth, it is very strange if the vāquished do not feare him that hath once beaten him. Besides this, it may perhaps be an occasion of the taking of some of the chiefest of the towne prisoners, or if it were but some of the simplest sort, the estate of the towne may bee discovered by them: and if any of the chiefest were taken, the Generall shoulde prooue to corrupt them with mony, and to win them vnto him, and it might happen that the towne would be yeelded through his authoritie, or the affection that those within do beare vnto him. And if it were so, that such an one were taken by whose meanes the towne might bee gotten, the Generall must helpe himselfe with him, either by loue or force: by loue, that is in promising him many faire things in recompence, if so bee that hee will yeeld the towne ouer vnto him. And if by that means he can do nothing with him, he may threaten him with death, & may aduertise those within the towne what he pretendeth to do, if so be that they will not yeeld to saue his life, or that he himselfe do not his inducours to auoide it: and the said Generall must cause the prisoner to bee brought in the sight of the towne, neither to neare nor to farre from it, & there make shew to put him to death, to moue the inhabitants with compassion, & to make them the moze afraid. Likewise his person may be vsed for an instrument to approche to the gates to assault them, for hardly will those within shoot at him. Finally the furious handling of this first skirmish that I haue spoken of, might be an occasion that the assaulters might be so mingled with the townsmen, that they might win the gates, & enter pell mell with the: which is not so greatly to be maruailed at, because of the prease & troubles that happen in such like actions, which oft times do fall out so great, that those that are repulsed, haue not leasure to reenter their place in good order; but do retire who best can fastest: so that if these townes haue not provided for this inconuenience befoze hand, except that they doe shut their gates against their owne people, & leaue them at the merce of the assaulters: it is to bee thought, that if the said assaulters do pursue them pell mell at their heeles, & the towne will be gotten at the instant, or at & least those that are issued out will be taken prisoners. It is therfore a matter of no small importance, to pro-
ceede

reede at the first in the maner before spoken of, si the it may cause
the war so sone to be ended. The assaulters must haue a specti-
all regard vnto one thing if it should come so to passe, that they
should enter into the towne pell mell with the defenders, that is
to assure themselves of the gates, & to breake them off from the
hinges if it were possible, or to let them from shutting by lay-
ing great stones or timber in the way, & also to impeach the let-
ting downe of the pertcullis: for the townsmen may vse a flight
for a pollicie to intice the besiegers into the towne, & when as
they do see that there are as many entred as they can well mai-
ster, they may let downe the pertcullis & shut them in: therfore
this must be taken heed of, & a good garde set to keepe the gates,
and others appointed to win the gate house, which being wone
must be kept as long as the townsmen do make resistance. The
rest must follow the victorie, who must execute it so diligently,
that y^e garrison nor others may haue leasure to range themselves
in battaile in the market place, or elsewhere: for it is not to be
thought that there are any beforehand to defend those places, for
at this day we make no such reckoning: for euery man as sone
as they do heare that an enemy is in sight, do run to the walles
to behold them. I do not blame this diligence: but yet I doe
not find it good that Souldiers should abandon the place that
they ought to keepe, to run vnto any other: nor that the market
places in a towne that is besieged, or that dooth looke for a siege,
should be without mē of war at any time, but should be alwaies
garded with a good number: but these things haue carryed me a
little from my matter. Wherefore to returne againe vnto the
Captaine Generall of the Horsemen, who after that he hath
viewed all things well: specially where the approaches may be
best made, must sound a retreat & returne againe vnto the Ge-
nerall: and the marshall of the Campe must stay vpon the place
where the armie should lodge that night, which may be within
cannon shot or nearer if it may be free frō the danger of y^e ord-
nance. As for the forme of the Campe, I leaue it vnto the dis-
cretion of the Marshall, who must be ruled by the situation of
the place, and the greatnesse of the towne.

Aboue all things hee must haue a care that the Legions doe
not lye so disjoint the one from the other, nor so placed but that
they

they may easily succour one another. And if there were any river that should cause the armie to lye deuided, there must bee a bridge made ouer it, for them to passe and repasse the one vnto the other, which bridge must be fortified at both ends. Moreover the armie being lodged, dispersed, whether it bee to keepe the towne the more subiect, or to batter it in diuers places, euery part must be so well fortified & rampared, that their forts might not be entred, what endeouour or force the Townsmen or others might vse. Likewise it were necessarie, that euery fort should haue in it twice as much people as the garriso of y^e towne, except the situation did helpe them greatly. One Legion may lodge alone, so that it were lodged in a strong place, although that the garrison of the towne were as strong as it. And when as there are eight or ten thousand men of warre in a towne, two Legions might be lodged together: and keepe the siege in two places, making a trench from the one to the other, placing certaine small forts betwixt the two Campes, to hinder those of the Towne from ouer-running those that should passe to and fro betwixt them. And as there must a care be had to defend the armie from the towne, so must the like care also be had of the hurt that it may receiue of the countrie. And if so be that the legions do lodge seuerall by theselues, their fort must haue y^e forme that I haue giuen it in the first booke, in lodging of one legion alone. And when as the Horsemen might not bee lodged with them conueniently, or that the place were not large enough to laye out the quarters at length, the Marshall of the campe may take out the Horsemen and laye them further off from the Towne, provided that hee doe lodge them in some strong place: for in truthe the nature of Horsemen in the siege of a towne, is to bee lodged somewhat farre off, for to resist the courses of their enemies comming from other townes and garrisons neare. Concerning the allarimes which the besieged may giue, their footme doe issue forth & not their Horsemen, except that they haue some gate free, or that the besiegers do lie far off. If the Horsemen doe lodge a part, it shall bee necessary that the Campe should be so much lessened as the roome y^e the Horsemen did occupie, & whereas it should be square if they were all lodged together, and had place enough, it must be lodged as the situation & the siege will permit.

permit. And in this point only the Campe must be subiect vnto the situation, because that Townes are diuersly placed, according vnto whose situation, the besiegers must be lodged, and not after the manner that they would. That is here spoken of the disposing, lodging, or deviding of the army, may be vsed at the Generall his pleasure. But for the first day of the army his arriual before the Towne, the Campe may haue the accustomed forme: and afterward the night following, or when the Generall doth thinke it conuenient, he may deuide his people at his will: but as sone as the said Generall doth arriue with his armye, he ought to send one that is a man well spoken to summon it, who in executing this charge, must seeke by all meanes to haue conference with the Chieffes as is before saide: and the Towne being summoned, the Generall the night following must cause the approaches to be made in as many places as he doth pretende to batter it, and giue order what people should lodge on the one side of the Towne, and what vpon the other. Likewise what Chieffes should haue the charges of the sayde sieges, and what quantitie of Ordnance should be necessary in euery part. I do not counsaile hym to plant all his Ordnance towards the Towne, but to haue a regard to place some of the smallest to beate the wayes, specially if he do doubt to be assaulted towards the countrey. Neither would I counsaile hym to deuide and disperse his Campe too much, if he did doubt any puissant enemy that were of sufficient strength to keepe him waking from time to time. But it is before presupposed, that his enemies haue no strength in the field, but only that there are certaine obstinate Townes neere, whose garrisons might make suddaine courses, which to impeach, there may be diuers bands of horsemen lodged in strong places neere vnto them, who might both conuoy the victuallers in passing and repassing, and keepe the way free from theeuers, and other naughtie people which do commonly followe a Campe to spoyle commers and goers: but to returne vnto the siege. Before that the Ordnance shoulde be brought nere vnto the Towne, the Mayster of the same should be furnished with good store of Sabbions, causing them

to be rouled by his Pponers vnto the place where the Ordnance should be placed. And this worke should be put in practise when as the Moone shineth not, but when the nightes are darke. Also the Ordnance must be brought vnto the batterie with as little noyse as may be, to the intent not to be discouraged vnto those of the Towne, who might shote at them. And to collour theyr busines the better, there may be a great noyse made in the Campe with Drummes, Trompets, and other thynges, whilest that the Carters doe theyr indeuour. Part of the Foxlozne hope must bee placed hard vnto the Townegates, who must lye flatte vppon theyr bellies, readie to receyue those that might issue out: and part must occupye Spade and Pickaxe with the Pponers, to bring the trenches as nere vnto the ditch side as they may, and fill those Gabbions with earth that are appointed to couer the Ordnance, and the places of the trenches that are subiect vnto the shotte of the Towne, which must be done with so great diligence, that the daye doe not surpryse them before that they haue made the sayde Trenches, and filled the Gabbions, for being vncovered, they wyl serue the defenders for a marke to shote at: for my meaning is that the Foxlozne hope shoulde be appoynted to gard the Trenches, and if they were not thought strong ynough for those of the Garrison, the Souldyers that serue for the flankes may bee put vnto them. Which doing, the Foxlozne hope, and those of the flankes of two Legions will make 3432. men, which is a sufficient number to resist a strong Garrison as I do thinke, and they may bee augmented, or refreshed with the other bands, if it shall please the Generall to appoint them to be in the Trenches by turnes, and this gard must be placed by the Ordnance for to defende it at all tymes. The same night that the Generall hath deuiped hys armye, he might make a proffer to assault it before that the Ordnance beginne to batter, and if he would skale it with ladders, the ditches being full of water, which could not immediatly be drawne drye, or filled, he must prepare Bridges expressely to passe the water; and lay Timber from the Bridges to the Gates of the Towne. And
if

if he would put this in execution, it must be done a little before daye, or at midnight when as the defenders are most heauyest asleepe: but being done in a darke night, the assaulters must haue some token or cognisance amongst them, as some word, or garments of like collour. We do at this present vse thythes drawne ouer our garments.

If this counsaile of assaulting do not like the Generall, the Maister of the Ordnance must salute the Towne in the dawning of the day with Cannon shot, and must hasten the batterrie as much as possibly he may, for there is no better way to haue hys will of those that are within the Towne, if the wall be weake, then to continue the batterrie the first day with great diligence, vntill such time as the breach be of reasonable breadth, and although it be not of great breadth, so that the defences bee taken away, it may be assaulted, without giuing the defenders leisure to rampare, or to make any Trench against it whilst the batterrie doth continue, the stones and cloads that flye from the breach hindering them from doing it. Moreouer, they will be so dismayed with the suddaine arriual of the armye, and speedie handling of the batterrie (except that they be hardned, and accustomed to see a batterrie) that it will be verie hard but they will be vanquished at the first assaulte.

Further, at that instant that the assault is giuen, the Towne may be skaled with ladders on euerie side, which will put the defenders in great feare to be lost, how little so euer any part is entred by their enemy, or abandoned by the defenders. Or there needeth but one amongst them to cry that their enemyes are entred at some part for to astonish all the rest, and to cause them to quitte the places that they ought to defende. The assaulters must vse all their endeouour for to enter at the first assault, resolutely assuring themselves to do it to good purpose: for if so be that they should be resisted or repulled, the defenders would be encouraged, and the assaulters discouraged, so that afterward there would be much ado to vanquish them, and to bring the besiegers againe vnto the assault, but greatly against their willes.

If the Generall do thinke it good to deferre the assault vntill that the breache be wyde and large he may do it: but then those of the towne hauing leisure, will fortifye against him, so that it will be hard to enter, for that the inuentions are so great that are vsed at this day in the defending of a towne, that the first assaulters (except it be a great maruell) may account themselves to be spoiled and murdered, as soone as they do set forward to goe to a breach, for that it is almost impossible that they should escape without death: yet notwithstanding the custome is to send foremost the most expertest and valiantest men of all the army, who serue for no other purpose but to receiue vpon their persons all the mischiefes that an enemy hath studied to inuent, and prepared in long time before. Moreover, when as these first valiant men are slaine, it is not sene that those that did follow them do long abide the place, or that they do any endeouour to reuenge the death of their Chieffes, or to goe forward, but are so skared with the losse of them, that they haue neither heart nor will to do well, so that the best and first being lost, the rest will do nothing ought worth. I would confirme my sayings to be true by the assault that was giuen at the Castell of Hedin, in the King his presence, my Lord the Doulphine, and in the presence of the greatest part of the Princes and Lords of Fraunce, if I thought that many of those that were there, appointed for to assault, would not thinke euill of me, who ought to haue bene encouraged by the forwardnes of many Lords, Captaynes, and other valiant men, which shewed them the way to aboord their enemyes: notwithstanding they were so skared with the slaughter of those that went foremost, that there was none of them afterward that would once sturre afoote: indeede I would alleadge this for an authoritie, but that I should haue ill will for it, and therefore I will holde my peace, for because that the Countie Danserne, Captaine Harencourt his brother, and certayne others, were slayne and hurt lyke men of vertue, the rest would not fight, but retired quickly enough.

The Turks do make a better account in preseruing of their Janissaries, and other valiant men in their armyes, for theye
 Asaspes

It was likewise taken in the selfe-same place by King Remus in the yeare 1463. Monople was taken by the Marques of Guast, by meanes of an old caue that lay buried vnder ground. Moreouer, it would not be amisse to offer many skirmishes, and to seeke by all meanes possible to drawe the defenders out of their fort, to the intent to diminish and waste their people. And if it were so that the plague were in the countrie, there might be commaundement giuen to recouer some of the garments or other things that the infected did vse, or the persons infected might be brought, so that there were heed taken for bringing the infection amongst his men in stead of sending it amongst others. And hauing recouered these things, or the persons infected, they should bee layd in such places whereas they might fall into his enemies hands, that by that meanes they might haue the infection to come amongst them. This meanes vsed the Lord Rance against vs to infect our Campe, when he was in Cremona. Furthermoze, if the Generall did hope to vanquish them by famine, he ought to haue a care that no victuall should enter. If the towne he besieged were scituated neere the Sea, it were necessarie that he should be maister of the Sea: or else it will be victualled and refreshed of all things in despite of him. And if it haue any great riuer neere, he must keepe good watch that no victuall do enter by it: and not only for boates, but for all other things that the water may driue alongst. For the Romanes maintained many daies the garrison of Casselin, by meanes of barrells full of corne and nuttes which they cast into the riuer that passed by their walles, which were afterwards taken by by those of the towne, Anniball not knowing of it in long time. There are meanes also to be vsed for the furnishing of a towne, which do well serue in this place. Fabius Maximus destroyed all the corne of the Campenois, insomuch that there was nothing gathered in all the whole sommer season: and when the seede time came, he went farre of and forsooke them, because that he would not hinder them from sowing again: hoping that they would unfurnish themselves of a great part of their graine, which they did: whereupon the sayd Fabius returned againe afterwards & destroyed all that was growne vpon the ground:

who finding themselves unfurnished of victuals, were constrained to peele vnto his mercie. After that he conquered many other townes, and desiring that a towne called Rhege, sometimes situated in Calabria, and now destroyed, sayned himselfe to bee a friend vnto the townes men: and vnder colour of friendship he required victuals for to maintaine his armie, which being granted vnto him for his monie, he liued a certaine time with their victuals: and afterwards, when he knewe that their victuals went lowe, he then declared himselfe to bee their enemy, and ouercame them.

By this meanes Alexander would haue taken Leucadie, which abounded with all things: who before he approached vnto it, taking all the townes and strong places round about it, suffered the garrisons of the sayd places and all others to retire vnto Leucadie, to the intent that the great multitude of people that retired thither should famish the towne the sooner. Phalaris hauing had warres with certaine knights of Sicil, sayning afterwards to bee friends with them, gaue them certaine corne of his to keepe, which was (as he sayd) remayning: which corne he put into certaine Garners within their towne, causing secreete holes to be made in the rofes of the sayd Garners, whereby the rayne running into the corne might corrupt it: vpon the trust of which corne, the inhabitants sould their owne corne so much the better cheape: but being besieged the yeare following, finding the corne that the sayd Phalaris had giuen them to keepe to bee corrupted, & their owne spent, he forced the to do what he would.

With these policies the aforesayd Generall might helpe himselfe, if they might fall out for his purpose: and on the other part if he would make the besieged beleue that he would not stirre from before their towne vntill he had his pretence, he might imitate the examples following: as Clearchus the Lacedemonian, who being aduertised that the Thracians were retired vnto the mountaines, hauing carried with them all things necessarie for their sustentation, and that they hoped to bee deliuered from him by meanes of the famine which would constrain him to go his waies: he commaunded that at the comming of certaine Ambassadors vnto him in the behalfe of the Thracians, that

that some one of his Thracian prisoners should bee publickly slaine, and that afterward he should be cut in small peeces: which being done, he sent these peeces into diuers quarters of his Campe in the sight of the sayd Ambassadors, making shewe that it was the victuall wherewith he fed his Campe: which inhumanitie being reported vnto the sayd Thracians, made them so afrayd, that they yelded sooner then they would haue done, imagining that the sayd Clearchus sought by all meanes possible to keepe himselfe long time in the countrie, seeing that he fed his men with so execrable a meate.

Tyberius Gracchus hauing warres with the Portugalles, besieging a certaine towne of theirs, which vaunted that they were sufficiently victualled for ten yeares: he answered them, that he would haue them the eleuenth yeare; wherewith they were so dismayed, that they came to composition with him immediately. An enemy may also be perswaded that a siege should continue long, by building of houses, and lodgings, which may hold out winter and sommer, and by making of great provision of victualls, and building of Milles and Quens, to grinde corne and bake bread. The Generall must seeke by al meanes possible to make the besieged afrayd, and helpe himselfe with all the subtilties that might serue his turne: specially with the same that Phillip vsed against a Castle which he could not take by force, who caused a great quantitie of earth to be brought vnto y edge of their ditch by night, making shewe that he mined: for which cause those of the Garrison fearing that their place would bee pearced through in short time by the mine, yelded themselves incontinent. Pelopidas besieging two townes that stood neere together; being before the one, commanded secretly that foure of his knights should come vnto him, out of the other siege with the greatest ioy that they might possible, and crowned as it was the manner of those that did bring any good newes: and had giuen order that a wood that was betwixt both the townes should bee set on fire, to the intent to make them beleue that it was their neighbours towne that burnt. And moreover, hee caused certaine of his owne men to bee apparelled and led like prisoners neere vnto the towne side that hee besieged: where-

wherefore the inhabitants thinking that the other aforesayd towne was taken, doubting that the like miserie would happen vnto them, if they did not yeeld, gaue themselves ouer incontinent vnto Pelopidas: who knewe that the other would do no lesse when as it sawe it selfe to be left alone.

A Generall may likewise cause a towne to bee assaulted on that side that it doth least doubt an assault: beginning first to assault it on that parte that they doe keepe greatest watch. He might also practise to intice them into the fielde, if that there were no other way to vanquish them: and do as many good Chiefs haue done in times past: amongst whō Lucius Scipio in Sardaigne, hauing besieged a most strong towne, appoynted at a certaine time during the assiege, that his men should make shewe to mutin, and to bee in armes one against another, for which mutins sake he sayned sodainly to flye and all his in disorder: which being perceiued by the townes men, they issued out at their heeles with a great power, and went so farre after them from their towne, that a certaine ambush which the sayd Scipio had layd neere vnto the towne, had time enough to assault and take it, for that there was not one soule that did defend it selfe.

Anniball being before a great towne, placed a good number of his Souldiers in ambush neere vnto the sayd towne, and hauing inticed the citizens out with a skirmish, making shewe that he was not in safetie for them in his Campe, he abandoned it, suffering them to take it: the townes men thinking that all was wonne, seized vpon his Campe, besides those that were left within issued out both great and small, thinking to haue their part of the pillage: but when as they thought that they had won all, they lost al: because that those that were in the ambush thrust themselves into their towne and tooke it easely, for that there was no bodie in it to defend it.

Himilco likewise placed an ambush by night neere vnto a towne which he besieged called Agrigentum, commaunding them that when as he had inticed the townes men out, & drawne them farre of, that they should set certaine wood and other things on fire, and issue out of their ambush: and when the day came, he offered them of the towne skirmish, who issuing out vpon him, chased

Asaspes are appointed first of all to assault, who are a certaine kinde of souldiers that are made little account of, and do serue but only to discouer and endeuor all the inuentions that defenders can deuise: so that when as the said Asaspes are repulled, the Janissaries neede to feare nothing but handstroakes, for that the murtherers, the traines, firepots, firepicks, poddings, sagots, and all other fireworks do make, haue playde theyr partes: besides the Galtrappes, tables with nailes, and a thousand other mischiefes, are couered with slaine and maimed men before that they do come vnto the breach, and their trenches are couered ouer head, so that they do but only fight against men, and are so good men that there can be no better, wherefore it is almost impossible that the defenders should resist them. If the King in these like cases would be serued with those that are in prisons, and haue deserued death, causing them to be safely kept in following the army, and hazard them at the first point of the assaults that might be giuen, deuiding them so that they might serue for many times, he should not lose so many good men as he doth, and by that meanes it would be a hard matter to repulse his men at any time as they are repulled: for the sayd prisoners should be the first that should abyde the mischiefe that the defenders had prepared: which prisoners should do nothing but carry boards, planks, and make bridges ouer the ditches, and returne, and then the souldiers being alwayes at their heeles in a readynes, might enter, and by that meanes they should be free of the daunger which the first assaulters are subiect vnto, for that the defenders will haue spued out all their venome vpon them first, so that there is nothing to be doubted before the coming to handstroakes, but certaine harquebuste shot. And to the intent that these condemned prisoners should the more willingly aduenture themselves vnto this manifest death, all those must be promised to be pardoned: that do their endeuors well, who should by and by be quitted of all their offence. Besides, if any of them were hurt, the Marshall of the Campe should cause them to be provided for. Who so should demaund to knowe what bands the Generall should vse in these assaults, whe-

ther it should be to enter a breache, or to skale a bullwarke, or wall: I would aunswere, that although this question touch the ordinarie bands of the Legions, yet he ought first of all to appoint certayne troupes of Pikemen of the Foxlozne hope, and as many of those of the flanks. As for the Harquebusiers, they must be in the trenches, all alongst the edge of the ditch, to shote at the defenders when as they doe shewe themselves. Let vs suppose that there is but one breach. When the Generall hath caused all things to be done, and is readie to assault, the Princes and Triaries of the first and second Legion should be mingled together, and raunged in one square Battailon of 50. ranks, euery ranke hauing 85. men: and the Princes and Triaries of the third and fourth Legion should be raunged together in like manner, and in some place very nere vnto the towne, and not subiect vnto the Ordnance: and if the place be not couered ynough from the sayd Ordnance, they must lye downe vpon the ground on their bellies, attending in that order vntill that the Generall be readie to vse them. As for the Hastaries, they must be deuided into foure troupes, and must take off those pieces off from their harnessse, that might hinder them from mounting lightly and nimblly at a breache: and when as the Trumpets and Drummes do sound to assault, the Hastaries of the foure Legions must assault one after another, the fourth Legion first, and the Foxlozne hope of the fourth Legion must skale it with ladders: and if that they were not a number great ynough, the Foxlozne hope of the third Legion should be at hand to helpe them. The Hastaries might haue theyr choise to vse theyr Pikes or their Targets. If they did make choise of the Pike, they might throwe downe their Targets in the breache to fill it, to saue their sexe from Galtrappes and such like. If their Targets did like them best, they might make a bridge with their Pikes if neede were: and must fight valiantly as long as they may stande: and if they were victorious they should enter the Towne, and if the Hastaries of the fourth Legion were not ynough, the Hastaries of the third Legion should followe them when as the Generall did make signe, and after

after them the Hastaries of the other Legions. Those which do enter first, and those of the third Legion, must execute the victorie, and the rest must goe directly vnto the Market places, and vnto the other great places within the Towne, and raunge themselves in Battaille in them, to keepe them vntill such time as there were no more resistance made. The Princes and Triaries must not sturre from their places, except that they were commaunded. But if so be that the aforesaid Hastaries who first assaulted should be repulled, it toucheth them of the third Legion to assault after them, and then those of the seconde, and those of the first after them. And if so be that all these Hastaries should be repulled, the Princes must assault after them, euery Legion in his turne, beginning with the fourth, and ending with the first. And if the Princes could do nothing, the Triaries must haue their turnes one after another: and by this meanes the defenders should be troubled with one assault vppon another, and not haue leisure to take breathe: and in so doing, I do not blame the defenders if they can not withstande twelue assaults, one being giuen presently after another, by good souldyers and freshe men, specially in the presence of the Generall of the army, the Captayne Generall of the footemen, and the Colonels who being neere assistants, will iudge of euery mans valor. As for the sending of the horsemen when all these haue sayled, I knowe not what to say, but the proofe will cost nothing. Which saide horsemen vppon the dayes of batteries and assaultes, ought to garde that side of the Campe next the Countrey, to withstande the inconuenience that might happen on that side, specially if there were any enemyes neere, who might assault any quarter of the Campe to hinder the assault of the Towne, at whiche tyme also the Campe might be troubled to make resistance vnto those of the Towne, who might sally out at the same instant.

I haue sayde before, that the Generall should appoynte the Princes and Triaries of two Legions to be raunged in one whole Bataillon together, and those of the other

two together, as nere vnto the towne as they might, to be imployed when it should be needefull, who should serue for no other purpose, but to make resistance vnto those of the towne if so be that they did sally forth whilst the assault did continue: and when as the Generall should take the Princes from one of his Bataillons to send them vnto the assault, it is meete that the Hastaries should be put in their places, and by this meanes the Bataillons might be reenforced, and not diminished. I must not heere forget a pollicy that was vsed befoze Golette in Barbary, by the Emperour his Gunners, at that instant that the Christians were readie to giue the assault: that was for to deceiue the Turks and Moores that were within, and to make them to belieue that the assaulters did continue in their trenches (for it is a generall rule that the batterry must cease when the assaulters are nere the breach) the said Gunners continued their shooting, vntill such time as the said Christians had aboyded them in their fort: and because the Ordnance should do no hurt amongst their men, they did put in waddes of hay in stead of shot: wherein the infidels were deceiued, for that they attended vpon the Ordnance which ceased not: wherefoze when as they sawe the Christians at handstroakes with them, befoze that they did looke for them, it did dismay and trouble them, and caused them to breake. In that manner befoze spoken of may the Legions be deuised for to goe vnto the assault, the first day that the Ordnance doth beate, or at any other time: and if the Generall do knowe any great difficultie to winne it by batterie onely, he may put the myne in practise also, if it may be myned: which myne may be vsed to enter into the towne withall, and pierced through: or may be vsed to ouerthrowe the walles and other defences through the violence of the powder that must be put into it, which powder must not be fiered, befoze the Generall see his time conuenient to giue order to assault it. The Generall should also enquire, and cause it to be diligently searched, if there were no vault, or watercourse that issued into the ditches, for they might be very necessarie helps to get a Towne by. Naples was taken by Bellisarius, in the yeare 538, by meanes of a conduit of water.

chased him farre of, for he would haue it to bee so. Whereupon the ambush put fire vnto the wood, the smoake whereof was so great, that the Agregentins thinking that it was their towne that was set on fire by some mishappe, returned to saue their towne who best might fastest: whereupon the ambush presenting themselves befoze them, and Himilco following them neere, they got the townes men betwixt them, and ouerthrewe them.

The Childezen of Israel vsed once this policie against the line of Beniamin. To make short, if all these subtilties can bring forth no fruite, the Generall may assay to overcome them by making shewe to leaue them quite, remouing his hoast: for in so doing, perhappes the townes men will thinke themselves so sure, that they will keepe but little watch or none at all: whereupon the sayd Generall may returne with all speede to assault them, traauiling as much ground in one night as he did befoze in foure daies. I had forgotten to tell, that in pretending to besiege one towne, a Generall may make shew to besiege another: to the intent that the towne that doth doubt nothing, might vnfurnish it selfe of garrison for to helpe the other: whereupon that may be left which is furnished, & the other besieged that is vnarmed: as the Lord of Lautrec did when as he approached neere vnto Milan, who sayned that he cared not for Pauie, (although it was the towne that he sought) for after that he was aduertised that the Countie of Belleioyouse had sent part of his people vnto the succour of Milan, and thereby to haue disarmed Pauie which he ought to haue better furnished and armed: the said Lord of Lautrec placed his siege befoze Pauie, & toke it easie enough. But for to get out of this matter, leauing all these subtilties a part, I say that a Lieutenant Generall ought neuer to keepe the field, nor an assiege so long as winter lasteth: for it will be a great chaunge if it do not happen ill in the ende: for that a winter siege wasteth, and consumeth an armie; whereas those within a towne are well lodged, and do take no more care then they neede. Moreover, the besiegers are at the mercie of the colde, snowes, raines, and a thousand other persecutions: so that there needeth no other enemy but the wether it selfe to ouerthrowe them,

winter siege

them, if the siege do continue any time: besides, in winter victu-
als can hardly be brought vnto a Campe for the difficultie of the
waies, & waters, if so bee it should come by land: and if it should
come by sea, the tempestes and outrages which are moze com-
mon in the winter then at any other time, would hinder the
bzinging of it: so that we must conclude, that all things necessa-
rie for the maintenance of a siege, will then fall out ill for the be-
siegers. Winter therfore is a most dangerous season for those
that do keepe the Campe, and of most aduantage for those that
are besieged: so that if they bee strong, and can tarrie for a time
conuenient, they may raise the siege and ouerthrowe all, or at
the least giue the besiegers some scourges. Also the Garrisons
of the other towne and forts that are in the countrie may be in
short time assembled, to charge the sayd Campe, of whome (in
mine opinion) they might haue as good a market as they would
with: forasmuch as the sayd Garrisons are fresh and rested men,
and the others are pined and halfe dead with famine. The like
may happen vnto those that do keepe the fiede, or do march
from place to place in an enemy his countrie in the winter: for
that ill wether will consume them in short time, if so be that they
lodge without doores: and for to lodge them couered, they shall
be forced to seperate themselves in villages here and there: and
being assaulted when as they are so lodged, they may bee ouer-
throwne easely. In fine, the best way for a Generall is to retyre
his men into towne, when as winter doth come, and to go into
the fiede about the last of March, and to keepe the fiede vntill the
last of October: & the countries might be such where the wars
should be made, that the moneths of Iuly and August would be
asmuch to be feared, by reason of the extream heate that it doth
make in some regions, as the most coldest winter that might be:
for these two extremities are not to be indured: for either of them
may be causes of many great sicknesses and euills, who so doth
not prouide for it. Wherefore, the Generall must haue a care to
ende his warres before winter. And being constrayned to keepe
his armie in the fiede in a very hote countrie, he must alwaies
plant his Camp in such places, where it might be couered with
trees, and watred with springes, to refresh his Souldiers. And
moze.

moreouer, lodge them housed, if it were possible, to keepe them from the heate. But this matter hath lasted long enough, specially for that mens wittes at these daies are so quicke, that they do prouide of themselves for al things that are necessarie in such like cases. I do but only say, that if the Generall do get a towne by composition, that he ought to keepe all the articles that haue been agreed vpon betwixt him & those of the towne from poynt to poynt: for in doing otherwise, he should neuer finde towne or man that would giue him credit, or trust his promise afterward, but they would do all that they could imagine before that they would fall into his hands. As I do say he ought to keepe his promise vnto those of a towne that doth yeeld: so meane I that he should keepe it vnto all others after that he hath once passed his word, vsing towards all those that he doth conquer, as great lenitie and meekenes as he may possible, and aboue all things to eschue crueltie: because that the true office of a conquerour is to pardon and to haue pitie vpon the conquered: yet reason would that this pardoning should be done with aduise, least he do giue them an occasion to begin the warres againe at their owne appetites. For oftentimes the clemencie of Captaine Generalles of hostis is so great, that they do pardon all those whome they do conquer, and all those that haue offended: which facilitie in pardoning, doth cause them oftentimes to commit newe offences: for that they doe looke to bee receiued whensoever they should yeeld.

In such cases me think there ought a meane to be vsed, & sometimes some one ought to bee chastened, to make others to bee a frayd: specially those which do reuolt without cause. I doe say moreouer, that they ought likewise to bee chastened that are so fowle hardie, that they dare defend a place which is not defenceable (and but a doue house) hoping to be receiued vnto mercie at all times: causing vpon this hope a great quantitie of prouision to bee spent, and an armie to spend time for a thing of no value. I say that such ought to be vsed somewhat rigorously, & so wee do reasonable well at this day: for their least punishment is to bee married vnto the Gallies for euer: yet some doe vse it more graciously then others, of whome the Countie of Tende is one,
who

who might haue vsed prisoners more rigorously then he did: but it is not sayd that faults should bee alwaies punished according vnto their deserts: specially if he that hath sayled bee otherwise a man of vertue: nor likewise that great harts should not shewe their greatnes many waies, specially to pardon a fault that toucheth them perticularly: as the sayd Countie did the offence of a certaine Captaine, which he tooke in one of his fortresses in Piemont, whome he vsed alwaies so courteously, that the remembrance of that clemencie ought not to bee forgotten: and for that cause I haue inferred it in this place. But for crueltie that a Lieutenant Generall ought to flie, is after the winning of a battaile, or after the taking of a towne by force. For what can bee more disagreeing from man his nature, then after the treading of an enemy his Ensignes vnder feete, sacking their Campe, dispersing them, in putting them to flight, and cutting their battailes in peeces in the furie, to slay them in a cold moode that were not slaine in the battaile: or after that a breach is forced, and those slaine that stood in the defence of their towne, then to kill al those that do yeld: and the poore inhabitants both old and young, notwithstanding that they are disarmed and innocent: And moreover, to suffer wiues and maydens to be rauished, and sometimes slaine, their Churches pillaged, and their sacred things conuered into vild vses: In truth it is more then crueltie. The Generall therefore ought to haue a great care of those disorders, forbidding his people to exercise the like cruelties, but only while the battaile continueth, and there should be those amongst them that should forbid it. Moreover, if he would that the people of a towne should make the lesse resistance, after that they are forced to quite a breach, & not constrain them to fight and to sell their liues deare, as people out of hope for want of a place to retire vnto: he should cause one of the towne gates to bee set open to giue them passage, and proclamation to be made that his Souldiers should not charge them that did not resist, nor hurt those that layd downe their armes. For to be brieve, if a Generall will bee well spoken of both by his friends and his enemies, and bee beloued of all men; he must after a victorie cause the hurt men of both parts to bee prouided for as carefully, as if they were his mere

meere kinsmen. Furthermore it is requisite that he should recompence his men, that did their endeuours well : or at the least that he should commend them publikely, and aduertise the king of their vertue, attributing vnto euery man his deserts : and not vnto himselfe as many doe, that speaking nothing of that they? Souldiers haue doone, but giue the praise vnto themselves. And finally hee must vse himselfe so towards all men, that it might not bee thought that hee made warre, to the intent to kill and to murder his enemies : nor to rauish they? goods, and to appropriate vnto himselfe the honour due vnto other men : but onely to get a good name, and to doe his Prince seruice. I might speake many things more of a conqueror, for I haue a large argument, but that is spoken shall suffice : and therefore I will take another matter in hand, which is no lesse requisite in an hoast then anye other may bee, of which I must make a great discourse: to wit, of y^e iustice that ought to raigne and to be exercised in a Campe, I meane the lawes that men of warre ought to keepe, if they doe intend to doe their duties, and to deserue the name of good and true Souldiers.

How Souldiers ought to gouerne themselves according vnto the lawes of the warres : with the chiefeft lawes, and the manner of proceeding in iudgement against an offender.

The 3. Chapter.



So farre hath bene proceeded in this matter in the chapters before going, that the foure legions which I haue taken vpon me to conduct, haue wholly vanquished their enemies : and by consequence they do continue maisters of towne and countrie: wherefore they nowe doe want nothing else but to knowe how to keepe that they haue woone, which is no small thing : for being well vnderstood, there is more difficultie to keepe things conquered then to get them. And therefore I doe say that although the Generall haue beaten his enemies in the
C.
field,

field, and haue all the townes, and strong places of the countrie in his possessions, yet there is nothing done except he do seeke to keepe surely those things that he hath conquered: speciallye the townes taken by force of armes: who in my iudgement will alwaies haue an eye vpon those that haue endomaged them: and a desire to be reuenged of outrages that haue bene doone vnto them, how long so euer that they doe tary. And therefore it is impossible to keepe so good a watche ordinarily, ha- uing to doe with a people so desirous to reuenge, but that in time the watche may be surprisid. To withstand this daunger mine opinion is, that after the taking of a towne by an assault, which cannot be doone without great mischiefes, that the inhabitants should auoid the towne whollie, and goe seeke some o- ther place to inhabit in far off. And who so would seperate them sending part one waye, and part another, should doe wisely, and the first inhabitants being voided, the townes should be repleni- shed with Frenchmen, assigning vnto them their houses and possessions. By this meanes the king should bee assured of the towne: besides if hee would place part of his Souldiers in it, he might richely rewarde them with the goods and lands of his enemies. One the other part the townes would not be so apte to rebell, and readye to stand in armes against vs as they are, fearing to be dealt withall as is aforesaid, whereas they doe now make no difficultie, seeing that rebels and recusants (al- though that they be conquered) are not constrained to change place nor habitations. When as the Romanes in times past did take any towne by force, they vsed customarilye to take out all the olde inhabitants, and to replenish it with a certaine num- ber of other Citizens: and sometimes with one of their Legi- ons: which towne being so peopled, was called a Romane Colonie: and serued the Cittie of Rome for a most strong Bulwarke, and faithfull Garrison against their enemies: in which dooing they did assure their estate more and more, and enlarged their Emppre by little and little. So likewise might the King doe if the townes that were taken by force of armes, were made French Colonies: & that the first inhabitants disper- sed heere & there within his realme, I meane if he would handle them

Custom of
the Romans
to secure Conquered
by Colonies.
see the Hist.
lib 2.

them so gentle, & had not rather to haue them far off then neare. We reade concerning this matter that the Childre of Israell vsed their Conquests much more rigorously: for in all the lande of Canaan they neuer did take one to mercie: but slew them all small & great: I beleue that they did it partly to obey the wil of God, who had so commaunded them, & partly to assure their owne state the better, & not to stand alwaies in doubt as they should haue don, if they had suffred their enemies to haue liued mingled amongst them. Edward the King of England hauing taken the towne of Callice (not by assault, but by composition) after that hee had besiedged it eleuen moneths, droue away vtterlie the people that he found in it, and replenished it wholly with Englishmen hoping to assure himselfe of the towne, better then if the first inhabitants had continued in it: because of the affection he knew that they would alwaies haue caried vnto the Frenchmen, and that either first or last they would haue proued to haue retourned vnto their first Prince, and haue thrust out their second: as in truerh it was to be feared. If we will be warned by those examples that doe happen euerie day, and that haue happened in such like cases within this Realme and else where they would make vs to be wise & well aduised, and keepe vs in time to come from falling into those inconueniences, which the Princes do fall into: I do not regard to people the towns which they doe win by force with their owne naturall subiects, driuing away the vanquished: which in mine opinion is the chiefest remedie to withstand the malice of an enemy, and the treasons that the vanquished might practise against their new Lords. The Generall may also finde other remedies to bee assured of a countrey or towne newly conquered: which is by putting Garrisons into the fortrells which are in them, or which hee may cause to be new built in places most fit to keepe the country in obedience. He may likewise assure himselfe of a place, by seazing vpon the principall personages of the countrey, or those that haue the greatest credit within the Townes, and keepe them for hostages in some sure place. And although that these are good meanes to keepe people of a Province in subiection: yet the first, to weet the making of French Colonies is much better: speciallie if wee had conquered them by force as is a fore-

*Italians from
weary of go-
verning*

*so then men suffer
their passions to
summe from
they are you or
within & out
by hand & force.*

*Nulla cura
illis hominibus
est quia afflicti
occupant.*

said: or that they were wearie to be our subiects, as the Itali-
ans are within ten dayes after that they are conquered: for then
they will practise nothing so much as to be reuenged, or to hunt
vs out from amongst them: and there are no hostages that will
serue the turne: for after that a people doe suffer theyr owne
desires to surmount them, and doe discouer theyr courage: there
is nothing in this world that can appease them, but onely force:
wherefore we are constrained to keepe alwayes strong Garri-
sons amongst them, and by that meanes are put vnto a maruel-
lous charge. As for the towne which doe giue themselves vn-
to a Prince of their owne freewills, or those that doe yeld before
that any force be doone vnto them, they will not be so hard to be
kept, as if they had bene taken with violence: so that there
were no other to bee doubted then they themselves, I would
not greatly care for to giue them any garrison. But if there
were any fortresse or castle in such a towne, I doe not saye but
that we should seaze vpon it, and furnish it with people and all
things necessary, or else raze it vtterly. But if there were none
before, I would cause none to be builded afterwards: but would
doe mine endeouour to winne the hearts of the inhabitants, and
to keepe them in subiection more by beneuolence then by con-
straint: hauing a regard not to hurt them either in bodie or
goods without great cause. Above all things the Generall must
abstaine from taking of other mens goods: for that men doe
sooner forget the deaths of their parents, then the losse of theyr
patrimonie: and furthermore he ought to be abstinent & chaste,
hauing a regard not to defile any mans wife or daughter, either
by loue or force: for there is no crime that dooth so much offend
the hearts of the people, as to see their wiues seduced or forced:
and contrarily no greater meane to winne their hearts, then to
vse chastitie and iustice towards every man, imitating Scipio
the chaste, and Cæsar the iust, who obtained with more ease the
dominions (the one of Spaine, & the other of Fraunce, through
two examiples which they did shew of their vertue) then by any
great force that they did vse. For Scipio although that he was
young, & a gallant man, yet he restored a Gentlewoman of most
excellent beautie, vnto hir father & husband, without rancombe:

and

and as he quitted hir freely so he restored her vnto her freendes as intirely in hir honour, as shee was at the time of hir taking: which act did profite him moze then all his force.

Caesar being in Fraunce payed for the wood that he had caused to be cut for to fortifie his hoast withall: wherein he got such a reputation to be iust, that it made his enterprises to be achieved with the moze ease. I saye therefore that a Generall that is chaste and iust, shall winne the hearts of a people moze thereby, then by any other meanes that he may vse. Wherefore if I were in his place, I would haue as great a care as might bee possible, neither to doe them wrong in goods or reputation: and as I would refraine my selfe from doing wrong, so would I also that my Souldiers should vse themselves well, and that they should so behaue themselves, and liue amongst others, as they would liue amongst themselves, or amongst their most speciall freends. And this were easie enough to be done, if that they had bene taught to liue well before, and that Iustice had bene exercised in the hoast. But forasmuch as there is nothing so harde to be doone, as that which a man hath not bene exercised in (as appeareth by our Souldiers, who knowes not at what end to begin to doo well, vntill such time as they are constrained to refraine themselves from doing euill) if our Lieutenant Generall will haue his Souldiers to bee such as is requisite that they should be for to exercise the arte of the warres as it ought to be exercised, and to behaue themselves in time of peace like honest men, hee must begin betimes to gouerne them according vnto the militarie lawes of the warres, to the intent that force may be changed into custome, and the custome of well dooing may be conuerted into nature: and by that meanes how naught and corrupt soeuer the Souldiers are at the beginning, by vse they might become honest men.

I take all those for Militarie lawes, which doe commaund men to liue honestly vpon paine of death: that no man should be endomaged without the Generall his leaue, that the king might bee humblye serued: and that the faction of the warres should be exercised as dutie would, in summe, that the Chiefe vnder whose charge they sweare to scrue, and of whome they

*Vn alto gonarso
hu fuz a shame.
Caesar paid for
all the wood
upon it's conquest
in France.*

are waged should be obeyed in all things: which pointes are so generall and doe comprehend in them so many others, that it is conuenient to specifie them peticularly, principally those that doe condemne vnto death. As for the other lawes that doe not extend vnto the taking awaye of life, I doe referre them vnto the discretion of the Prouost, and vnto others that haue power and charge to punish them that doe not obserue them. As for the chiefeſt lawes, they are these that follow.

First of all, whosoever shall practise or commit treasō against the king, in what manner so euer it bee, or who so shall counsell or fauour and aide his enemies.

Item, whosoever shall haue conference with his enemies, without leaue of the Captaine Generall, or of one of the principall Chiefes.

Whosoever shall reueile the secrets of the Counsell, be it vnto the king his enemies, or vnto his owne proper freends: specially if any hurt might proceed of the discouerie.

Whosoever shall send lettets or message vnto his enemies, without leaue of the Lieutenant Generall.

Whosoever dooth not immediatlye aduertise his superiour, of all that he dooth knowe concerning the king his honour and profit, or his damage.

Whosoever dooth runne away, and go towards his enemies, or who so is taken in his departing.

Whosoever dooth breake the truce or peace, not hauing expresse charge to do it, by those vnto whom it dooth appertaine.

Whosoever being taken prisoner by his enemies, dooth not seeke to escape as often as hee may, except hee hath giuen his promise not to depart without leaue.

Whosoever shall yeld vp a place into his enemies hands, except that he should be too much constrained to do it, & that in truth it were like, that a very good man would haue doone as much.

Whosoever dooth laye hands vpon his superiour, or his Prouost, or vpon any officer to doe them hurt.

Whosoever dooth laye handes vpon anye of the Chiefes, members, or officers, of anye legion or band whatsoeuer it be, specially

Specially if it be at that time that the said Chieffes and Officers doe exercise their offices, or at anye other time except that the sayd Chieffes would do them wrong, and beate them without a good occasion, or put them in daunger of their liues.

Whosoever dooth kill his Souldier for his owne pleasure, the said Souldiers not deseruing to be ill used.

Whosoever shall disobey the cries that the Drummes and Trumpets shall make: specially if the said cries be made vpon paine of the heart, or vpon paine of death.

Whosoever shall practise to make any mutinie.

Whosoever shall kill any man except it bee in the defence of his owne person.

Whosoever shall rauish any woman.

Whosoever shall take any thing in the Church, wheather it be sacred or prophane, but with the licence of the Generall.

Whosoever shall cause himselfe to be inrowled in two bands at once.

Whosoever shall passe twice in one muster.

Whosoever shall goe out of any bande without leaue of his Colonell, who also shall haue no authoritie to giue leaue vnto any man except it be to be absent for a certaine time, and afterward the partie licensed, is bound to retorne againe within his time: for the Lieutenant Generall onely hath this authoritie. Souldiers ought likewise to bee forbidden from running from one bande vnto another, and the Captaines from receiuing or harbowring of them, vpon great perrill vnto them bothe.

Whosoever shall faile to follow his Ensigne, or not be found in anye other place that he is commaunded.

Whosoever shall abandon his Ensigne without leaue, or leaue the place that hee ought to keepe being ranked in battaile.

Whosoever shall faile to bee at the watche when he is commaunded, and who so shall forsake his watche.

Whosoever shall reueile the watche-woorde vnto his enemies, or vnto anye other that anye damage might ensue vnto the Hoaste.

Whosoever shall bee found sleeping, eyther in Skoute or in Sentenell.

Whosoever shall abandon the place that he ought to keepe, being placed in it by the Serieant of the bande or other officer, whether it be in watche, skoute, or other place, except y he that hath placed him there, doe take him awaye, or some other whom he knoweth well hath charge to doe it.

Whosoever shall be absent vnder coullour of spie, or being in Skoute without the Campe, or bee not found in a readines when as an enemy dooth assaile the hoast.

Whosoever hauing charge to Skoute without or within the Campe, dooth so euill his endeouour, that the enemy dooth assault the said Campe suddenly, and surprize it.

Whosoever is appointed to defend a breache, trenche, or passage, and dooth abandon it whollie, although that he bee forced by his enemy,

Whosoever entering into a towne taken by force shall stay to sacke and not followe his Ensigne vnto what place soeuer it doth goe, not forsaking it, vntill that proclamation bee made by the Generall his Trumpet, that euery man shall make his prea : and if so bee that no proclamation were made, then euery man must refrayne from sacking vppon the same paine.

Whosoever shall not doe his endeouour to recouer his Ensigne if it happen to fall into the enemy his hands, and when as it cannot bee recouered, then must bee some rygoz vled against the Souldiers that haue suffered it to be lost.

Whosoever flyeth being ranged in battell, or dooth marche too slowly, in the giuing of an assault, or doth playe the coward in what maner soeuer it be.

Whosoever sailneth to bee sicke, when as hee should fight with his enemies, or goe vnto any seruice.

Whosoever shall see his superiour in the daunger of his enemies, and not doe all his endeouour to succour him immediately.

Whosoever shall take any thing from a victualer or other that doe bring any prouision vnto the Campe.

Whosoever

Whosoever shall take any thing from those that are the king his friends, or who so shall steale any thing from his souldiers, specially their armes and hozles,

Whosoever shall misuze the people of the countrey where the warre is made, either in body or goods, except that they bee declared rebels to the king.

Whosoever shalbe found unfurnished of the harnes and arms, for which hee is intould: specially if he had lost them in play or in flying, or els where through his own negligence.

In like manner must those hozlemen be handled, which doe playe awaye their hozles, or suffer them to bee spoyled through their own negligence, for not keeping them as they should do.

Whosoever shall go out of the quarter of his Legion aboue an hundred paces without leaue of one of his superiours.

Whosoever should receiue a stranger or a suspected person in to his lodging, or any other except he be of the same legiõ without shewing him first vnto his Superiour, and asking leaue to lodge him.

Whosoever doth quarrell with any man in his watch, ambushe, or in any other place, where silence ought to be kept.

Whosoever shall first begonne to doe any man iniurie, either in word or deeds, because that of iniuries quarrels do rise, and of quarrels proceed many disorders in a Campe.

Whosoever shall runne vnto a fray, with any other weapon then with his Sword, except he be a Chiefe, or haue some office in the hoast.

Whosoever shall goe about to reuenge any iniurie done vnto him, whether it were done vnto him at that instaunt, or long before, by any other meanes then by iustice: it is not sayde, that he may not require the Combat, body for body, if so bee that the controuersie cannot be mittigated by any other meanes, which poynte is reserued vnto the Lieutenaut Generall his authoritie.

Whosoever shall strike stroake at his aduersarie, either in heat or otherwise, if a third doe crie hold, to the intent to parte them: except that they did fight a Combat in a place incloased: and then no man shalbe so hardy to bid hold, but the Generall.

Whosoever should carry away money that another hath truly wonne, or doth take his last hand, except it be with the good will of him that hath wonne, but to do wel, and to avoid the manifold inconveniences that doe proceed of play, it ought to bee forbidden altogether.

Whosoever should vse couzonage or false play, after what maner soever it were, whereby any man should be deceived.

Whosoever shall runne before the battailes whether it bee to be first lodged, or for any other intent, or whosoever shall stragle from the bands, whilest that they do martch.

Whosoever should ransom his hoast, or other person, not being lawfull prisoner, & being lawfull prisoner, no take moze then the conditions which are agreed vpon betwixt the chiefs of the two hoastes doe allow; if so bee y there be any conditions made betwixt them, and if there be none the raunsome must be as favourable as may be possible, because that the like may happen vnto vs.

Whosoever should enter into a Camp, or other place of war at any other place then at the gates accustomed to goe in and out at: for going in & out at any other place, is a capitall crime.

Whosoever should not retire when the Trumpet one hys side dooth sound the retreat, whether it bee in issuing out of a towne, in skirmishing, or in other fight.

Whosoever should speake loud, or make great noise whilest the arme is in battaile, or in other place where as they ought to keepe silence, except they be Chifes and officers.

Whosoever should passe one whole day without exercising of his armes in some part of the same, except bee were otherwise imployed in the kings seruice.

Whosoever shall do any thing that may bee prejudiciall vnto the king his seruice, or damageable vnto his frends, in what maner soever it should be.

And finally, whosoever should despite God, and blaspheme him after the maner that they do at this day.

I would also willingly put in those that doe sweare, & take his name in vaine, & do cut of his armes, & head if I thoght it would be

be receiued amongst vs. I would likewise make mention of false witnesses, Sodomites, and those that haue an ill opinion of our christian faith: if these crimes were not so greatly priueleged as they are, and that there is no man but hee doth knowe well, that they ought not to be supported, nor many other offences which I doe leaue for breuittie. I would haue all these lawes to be written in certaine tables, and to be hanged in the enterances of all the Colonels tents: to the intent that the Souldiers might alwaies see the orders, that they ought to keepe in campe, and in following the warres vpon paine of death, which paine shall be measured according vnto the crime. For I do meane that the one shall be more grievously punished then the other, hauing regard vnto the shame which is or may proceed of the offence: and who so would, that his souldiers should not excuse themselves with ignorance in this matter, as to say that they knew not, that this or that was forbidden, or commaunded, must cause these lawes to be published through his host once euery moneth, and also cause them to be read publikely in the presence of the legions, as often as they doe passe muster. They must also be taught them before that the Legions doe assemble, and likewise when as the armie is assembled. For the first thing that a generall ought to doe, is to foresee vnto the disorders that his owne men might commit amongst themselves, and after wardes vnto the damage that they may do vnto the Countrey round about him. if so be that they be his friends: and this done, he may with a greater libertie make warres with his enemies, then if he had warres within his armie, and without it with his enemies.

We read that Emperour Fredericke Barbarouse, being entered into Italie with a great armie, to the intent to punish the Milannois, who were rebelled, would not begin his wars vntil such time as his men hadde sworne to obserue certaine lawes which he established, because he would take away the occasion of controuerlies which do happen amongst Souldiers, from time to time: and also punish those that shoulde commit any disorder. The example of this Emperour ought our Generall to immitate at the beginning of the assembling of his Host, causing them to sweare, from the hyghest to the lowest,

to obserue the aforesaid lawes, and to helpe with all their power to maintaine them: and those thinges which I haue said, the Souldiers should be forbidden to do one vnto another: shall bee likewise forbidden to be done vnto those of the towne that are vnder our obedience, and also vnto those of the conquered Countrie. For reason would that we should liue with them as if we were one body.

But sith I haue proceeded so farre, I must speake of the manner of iudging and condemning the Souldiers that do not obey the aforesaide lawes, or the setting at libertie of those that are wrongfullye accused, and to condemne those false accusers. For after the giuing of lawes, it is necessarie, to shewe howe the same should be executed. For as I haue saide before, that it serueth to no purpose, to make lawes & proclamations euery day, if so be that they be not kept from point to point. Wherefore sithence I haue spoken of the principall points where on life dooth depend: and those that I doe thinke to bee most fit to hyde Souldiers from dooing those euils which they doe most commonly commit, it is necessarie that the manner of proceeding in iudgement, wherein death consisteth should follow: for I wil not touch the other at all. For the handling of this busines, mee thinke that euery Colonel ought to iudge those of his own legion, taking vnto him his Captains, with their members, and officers: who should proceed in that manner that I will shew hereafter. As for that which I haue saide in the first booke touching the perticular orders of these legions, that in euery legion there should be a prouost: I do meane that his office should extend but to the determining of ciuill causes, and not to causes of life and death, nor after any appeale. So it is that an appeale should neuer be permitted, except the matter did concerne some officer, who were condemned to be punished corporally, or to do some notable penance. But as for y simple souldiers, they should not be permitted to appeale from the iudgment of a prouost, except that he were condemned to die: & then the appeale shal come before the Colonel, who with the other iudges aforesaid, shal examine if the party condemned did rightly appeale or not. Moreover, I doe not meane any way to diminish the authoritie of the Prouosts,

Prouosts, nor of my maisters & Marshals, although that I haue
 appointed other perticuler: for I am not ignorant that they do
 know all maner of vagabonds, and haue power to punish them
 with death when they doe get them: but for that & Legionaries
 are sworne & knowne men, it is requisite y^e they should haue
 their ordinarie Iudge, who should administer iustice vnto them
 as well in ciuill causes as in criminall as long as the Legions
 are vnder their Ensignes: and to y^e intent I haue instituted vnto
 euerie Legion a man of lawe, to counsaile the Colonells: where-
 fore I will not spend the time to shew the order y^e the prouosts
 ought to obserue in their iudgements: for asmuch as it is to
 be thought that they should not haue their offices except they
 vnderstand how to execute them, and they are clearks of y^e right
 stamp which I haue appointed them to assist them in all their
 courts that they doe holde, when as they would iudge in any
 matter. I will therefore begin to speake of the maner that the
 Colonell and his people ought to vse in their iudgements, and
 first of all I will chuse a certaine number of Iudges by lot, to
 auoide confusion, and the iealousie that might be had of them
 that doe iudge: and afterward shalbe shewed how we must pro-
 ceede to condemne or discharge a prisoner. Concerning the first
 point I doe presuppose that the accuser (I doe meane he y^e doth
 make the reporte) wheather it be one of the preseruers of Mi-
 litarie discipline or other, must first come vnto the Prouost of
 the League and informe him very well of the matter, and this
 done the Prouost shall conferre with his counsaile, wheather
 the partie doe deserue death or not: if the case doe not concerne
 death he shall proceed therein according vnto his charge. But if
 the crime be so haynous y^e it doth deserue death, he shall goe im-
 mediately vnto the Colonell & informe him of it: and thus the
 matter shalbe handled at the first complaynt. Concerning the
 maner of bringing of an appeale before the Colonell, it is too
 manifest. The Colonell being fullie informed of the accusa-
 tion, shall cause the offender to be taken: and commit him vn-
 to the custodie of the Prouost. If the Colonell doe know that
 to summon him to appeare personally will serue the turne, the
 offender shalbe summoned to appeare personally: the one of
 which.

which commissions must be executed by the Prouost & his men, to wette, that of taking him prisoner, except the accused were a Chiefe of Pembr: for in such a case, the maister of the Camp, or the Seriant maior, accompanied with the Colonell his garr shall goe & take them: as for the adiouning the Dyme maior or the Colonell his trumpet must doe it. If it be late before the accused be taken, the matter shalbe deferred vntill the next day: but if it were any thing timely, hee shall cause proclamation to be made, that all the Captaines, Lieutenantes, Ensignes, Corporals, Chieffes of Squadrons, and Deceniers of his Legion, should immediately come vnto his lodging: which proclamation being made, all these that I haue named shall goe thither incontinent, carrying no other armes with them then their swords.

The Seriants of the handes must bee there also: and if the Colonell his lodging or tent bee not great inough to receiue al this people, the assembly must be made without doores: and the Colonell before hee doth proceede further shall shewe vnto them for what intent he hath called them together: that is to administer iustice vnto his souldiers, to preserve the good from oppression, & to punish the offences that the wicked doe commit. If so be that this assembly were made for to heare any appeale, the Colonell shall shewe them the matter: and for whether soeuer of these two causes it were, hee shall cause them all to lift vp their handes and to sweare with one voice, to help to maintaine iustice with all their power, against all those of the Legion that should commit any crime without exception of person, except the Colonell, who is to be iudged in an other place & not there. The othe being taken in generall, the Deceniers shal assemble by them selues together, the Chieffes of Squadrons by them selues, and the Corporals likewise by them selues: the Colonell shal sit in a chaire, & shall haue two pots set at his feet: in the one of which pots there shalbe as many leadden bullets as there are Deceniers in one hand lacking one, & in steed of þ one leadden bullet which wanteth, there shalbe a Lattin bullet: so þ amongst a great many of white bullets there shall be one yealow: the other pot shall haue nothing in it & shalbe set at the Colonell.

Colonell his right foote, and that with the bullets at his left. The Maister of the Campe, the Seriant Maier, and the Provost and his Clarke shall be by him. These two porters being so placed, the Colonell shall make signe unto the Deceniers of the first bande, who shall march one after another according unto the order that they are accustomed to keepe in the Battailon. The first shall shewe his right hand unto the Seriant Maier, stripping his sleeve by unto the elbow to auoide all suspicion of deceit: and afterward shall put his hand into the pot to take out one of the bullets: and shall shewe the bullet that he doth take unto the Maister of the Campe, to shew what bullet that it is: and if it be a leaden bullet the saide Decenier shall put it into the emptie pot immediatly: and shall retourne unto his lodging, but if he doe drawe the latten bullet, the Clarke shall take his name, and he shall stand aside in a place appoynted. After that this first Decenier hath drawne, all the rest of the same band shall drawe untill such time as some one hath drawne the latten bullet. And this being done by the Deceniers of the first band, the Colonell shall cause al p leaden bullets with the latten bullet to be set againe in their places, remouing the full pot into the emptie pot his place: and shall afterwards make signe unto the Deceniers of the second band, to come forward as hee did before unto those of the first: who shall doe as they did and so shall al the other following: so that by this meanes when as all the Deceniers of the 12 bands haue drawne, he shall haue 12 men of those sortes of officers ready to iudge. And to the intent that hee might haue as many Chiefes of Squadrons, as Deceniers hee shall cause the Chiefes of Squadrons to drawe eache band after other, vntill so manye bullets with the latten bullet as are Chiefes of Squadrons in a band, & afterward the Corporalls shall doe as much, one bande after another. Concerning the Members and Captaines they shall not drawe bullets at this time: but their number shall continew whole. Wherefore of all these six sortes of officers, there shall be 12 men of euerie one which is in number 72, that is 6 of euerie band: all which 72 men shall range themselves in forme of a circle, the Colonell being in the midst of them, who shall commaund the prisoner

ner to be brought. In þ meane while the Drumme Maioꝝ ſhal make proclamation that euerie man ſhal repaire vnto his lodg- ing except thoſe that haue bin kept as aforeſaid, the maiſter of þ Camp, Seriant Maioꝝ, and the Seriants of the bands: which Seriants muſt ſtande ſo far from the Counſaile that they may heare nothing. Whiſt this is doing, the Prouoſt ſhal bring the priſoner, and ſhew him all thoſe that are there to giue iudgemēt vpon him, and ſhall aduertife him to conſider if there bee anie amongſt them that he doth hould ſuſpected, to the intent that hee might bee reſuſed incontinent, if ſo bee that the cauſes of his re- ſuſement are juſt, and to bee allowed, which cauſes ſhall bee re- ferred vnto the Colonell. And if ſo be that the ſaid priſoner had a cōtrarie partie, his ſaid partie might likewise reſuſe thoſe who he did hould ſuſpect. But ſo it is that neither of them may re- ſuſe aboue two men of euery one of þ 6 conditions aboueſaide. And put caſe that this whole number ſhould be reſuſed which do make 24 men (foꝝ moꝝe ſhall not bee permitted to bee reſuſed) which reſuſed ſhall incontinent depart thence, the other ſhall put themſelues into ſix partes each ſort by themſelues, and the Co- lonell ſhall ſit downe in his place, and the two pots ſhall be pla- ced againe at his feet. The one of them ſhall bee emptie, and the other ſhall haue ſixe bullets of lead, and as many bullets of latten, as there ſhall remaine Captaines vnreſuſed. And the like ſhall bee afterwards obſerued amongſt Members, and offi- cers. Which being ſo ordred the Captaines ſhall goe firſt and drawe out of the pot euerie man in his degree, and thoſe that ſhall happen to drawe bullets of latten ſhall goe their waies vnto their lodgings: and thoſe that doe drawe leaden bullets muſt ſhew them vnto the maiſter of the Camp, and their names ſhall be written by the Clarke, and afterwards they ſhal place themſelues on either ſide of the Colonell: the one halfe on the one ſide and the other one the other. After this the Seriant Maioꝝ ſhall againe put ſixe bullets of lead into one pot, and as many bullets of latten, as there are Lieutenants moꝝe then ſix, which Lieutenants ſhall doe as the Captaines haue don, & the Enſigne bearers ſhal do the like after the, & cōſequently þ Coꝝ- porals, and after them the Chiefs of Squadꝝons, and finally the Deceniers

Deceniers. By this last lot the number of the Judges shall be reduced vnto 36. persons, not coumpting the Colonell, which 36. Judges shal raunge themselues 18. on the one side, and 18. on the other, in manner of an angle: and the Colonell shalbe the angle, the Seriants of the bands shalbe there as assistants, but they shalbe farre of & euery man alone by himself. The Colonell his guard shalbe round about the Counsaile, and so farre of that they may not vnderstand what doth passe. The matter being this ordred, the Colonell shall cause the prisoner to be brought, who being brought by the Prouost, his Cleark shal recite befoze them all the contents of the information, and the depositions of the witnesses (if that there be any) whereunto the prisoner shall answer & shalbe heard to speake. And if so be that he do deny the fact, the witnesses shalbe brought befoze him: & for want of witnesses, if the presumptions bee great, the Colonell with the aduise of the sayd Counsaile, shall condemne him vnto the racke, and shall passe vnto iudgement, or deferre it vntill the next day, or longer if it be necessarie. As concerning the condemning or releasing of a prisoner, it shalbe handled as here followeth: that is, after that the Prouost hath made his demaund in the behalfe of the King, & the partie, if there be any, hath made his demaund for his damage: and that the sayd prisoner hath answered from poynt to poynt, the Counsaile shalbe left alone, and the prisoner and his accuser also shall be put a little a side out of the sight of the Judges. Upon this the Cleark shal reade the euidences befoze them all: & the Judges there present shall heare it, the maister of the Camp, the Seriant maior, & none other. The euidences being read at large, the Colonell shall declare vnto them that they are assembled for to iudge according vnto the truth, & not for any fauour that they do beare vnto the prisoner, his parentage, or frends, nor likewise for hatred: & therfore that euery man should speake his minde according vnto his conscience, following the lawes of the warres, & not otherwise: for in this busines of the warres there must be no fauour nor lenitie vled, but only the rigour of the lawes which haue been made for men of warre, the which shalbe registred in a table, as I haue said befoze, & the said table shalbe alwaies hanged befoze the Colonell his tent, or the gate of his lodging, to the intent that it may bee in sight, that

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every man may knowe what he ought to s^epe for to auoyde the daunger of Iustice. And the sayd table shalbe brought and read by the Clarke from the one end vnto the other. And this done, the Colonell shall commaund the Seriant maior to giue vnto every one of the sayd Iudges three bullets: vpon one of which bullets there shall bee a great R, which shall signifie to release: vpon another a great C, which shall signifie to condemne: and vpon the third there shall be a great I, which shall signifie to bee better informed of the matter: one of these three bullets shall bee vsed when as they would release, or condemne, or when as the proofes are not sufficient to release or condemne, but that they would be better informed.

After that every one of these haue receiued three bullets, as is aforesayd, and the Colonell th^{re} likewise as the others: the Seriant maior shall place two emptie pottes at the Colonell his foete, the one somewhat distant from the other, vnto which pottes the Iudges shall come one after another: to weete, the Deceniers first, the Chiefes of Squadrons next, and the others following, and after them the Captaines, and the Colonell last of all. Every one of them shall put the bullet by which he doth pretend to signifie his opinion into the pot appoynted for the purpose, and the other two bullets into the other pot, and afterwards shall returne vnto their places. And the Colonell shall cause the pot of their opinions to bee ouerthrowne, to see if the bullets that do release be moze then 18. and if so be that it should happen that the prisoner should be released simplie and purely, he might bring the partie afterwards to his aunswere, that did accuse him & wrongfully sweare against him. But if so be that the bullets which do condemne are moze then 18. the Colonell shal pronounce the iudgement of death against the prisoner. And when as neither sort of bullets do excede the one halfe of the number of Iudges; because that some perhaps might require that the matter might bee better looked into: in which case the iudgement shall be referred vntill the next day, or two daies after. In the meane while the Prouost and his Counsaile shall precisely ouersee the euidences, to see if there were any poynt that were not well verified, to the intent to put the inditement in good order, and take from the Iudges all occasions of prolonging

prolonging iudgement. If the prisoner be released, there is no more to be done, but that he may returne vnto his lodging when as he will. But if so be that the matter be deferred vntill another day, the Colonell shall appoynt the day and houre, when the Counsaile shall meete againe, at which day and houre the prisoner shall be brought againe by the Prouost. This delay of saying that the matter is not evidently enough proued, may bee vsed thre times, and not aboue: and then the Seriant maior shall giue but two sorts of bullets: to weete, those two that do release or condemne: but if he be condemned, so that there be 19. bullets or more marked with C, the Colonell shall immediacly pronounce that the prisoner is condemned: & then the Seriant maior shall set the two emptie pots at the Colonell his feete, as before, and shall giue foure bullets vnto euery one of the Judges: vpon the one of which bullets shall be a great S, which shall signifie for to smite off his head: vpon another shall bee a great S, which shall signifie that he hath deserued the gallowes: vpon the third there shall be a great P, which shall signifie to passe the Pikes: vpon the fourth shall be an H, which shall signifie that the prisoner shall be shot to death with Harquebuziers: wherevpon the Judges shall put the bullets of their opinions (which sort of death they do thinke the crime hath deserued) into the pot appoynted: and if there were more bullets found in the pot marked with S, then with any one of the other letters, the prisoner shall haue iudgement to haue his head to bee smitten of. Likewise, if there were more bullets marked with P, then with any other letter, the prisoner shall bee iudged to passe the Pikes: and so likewise of the others; which iudgement shall bee first registred in wrighting, and afterwarde pronounced by the Colonell. And if so bee the prisoner should lose his head, or bee hanged, he shall bee deliuered vnto the Prouost to bee executed. And if so bee that he should bee condemned to passe the Pikes, or bee Harquebuzzed, bee shall bee deliuered vnto the Seriants of the bande, for this execution appertayneth vnto Souldiers. And if this execution were the first that were made in the Legion, the Souldiers of the first band should do it: and the other executions must

bee done afterwards by the other bands euery one in his turne.

After this manner must bee proceeded as often as any man shalbe condemned to dye, and moze precisely if it were possible: and after the sentence pronounced, it shalbe necessarie to proceed vnto the execution immediatly without shewing mercie vnto any man whosoeuer it were. For if one offender shall be pardoned, the Souldiers would afterwards haue the lesse care to refrain from offending. And likewise, if any man were attainted of crime, and should suffer death for the same, he would take it the moze impatiently, for that mercie should be vsed vnto some, and not vnto others. Concerning the manner of proceeding in appeales, in these cases which do not concerne death, it shall suffice that all the summons be made publikely, except the last: but for to iudge any man vnto death, we must proceed secretly as I haue sayd: which neede not to bee so handled when as the fault doth not deserue so hapnous a punishment: for in such cases a man may declare his opinion openly, and speake his mind without vsing of bullets. Concerning the punishment of the horsemen, that appertaineth vnto their Captaine, and the punishment of the Captaines vnto their Generall, who likewise is vnder the iustice of the King his Lieutenant, whilst they are in the warres, or elsewhere vnder his charge: or else if it be in time of peace, the ordinarie Justice of the countrie will looke into them, reseruing the qualitie of their estates, in which case my Lords the Marshals of Fraunce will looke to haue a saying vnto them: but being in Campe, or elsewhere vnder the charge of the Lieutenant Generall, the Justice of euery Captaine of an hundred men of armes ought to punish his owne men: and for default therof, the Generall might be complained vnto. A Captaine of an hundred men of armes, may chuse certaine of his owne officers to assist him in his iudgements, if he will: and may vse his owne authoritie or lot, which he thinketh best, without calling any other assistance vnto him, but his owne members, who at the least ought to bee called: yet men of warre do with greater patience suffer punishment, when as they do see that many Iudges are assembled to iudge them, then when as they are wholly referred vnto three or foure.

And

And if that they do vse lots, the manner before shewed neede not to be greatly altered, because there are Chieffes amongst the horsemen aswell as amongst the footmen: of which Chieffes there may be a certaine number taken to haue the hearing of the matter, and the Marshall that is appoynted to lodge the horsemen, must execute the office of the Prouost, aswell for to informe, as to accuse: and mozeouer, the execution must be done by the Capitaine Generall of the horsemen his Prouost, or by themselves, in the selfe-same manner that the footmen do: for, as the one sort haue Pikes, so the other haue Launces, and either of them haue Harquebuziers: but I will not stand longer vpon this matter, but will shew that the manner of proceeding in iudgement with bullets, hath two good considerations in it. The first is, that neither the Colonell, nor Captaines, haue authoritie to iudge alone. The other is, that those that do iudge, do not speake their opinions publikely: but with silence do signifie their opinions by a bullet: which two manners me thinke are very good; better then to giue authoritie wholly vnto the Colonells or Captaines to iudge according vnto their owne willes, and without information, as they might sometimes do through hatred or fauour.

Mozeouer, if a prisoner should be set at libertie, or condemned by a small number of Iudges, those that should skanne vpon the matter might sooner haue an euill opinion of a small number then of a great, and the common Souldiers would exclaime that their right were ouerthrowne, because there should bee no bodie on their sides to maintaine it: for which cause I haue appoynted a certaine number of Deceniers, who haue a moze familiaritie with the common Souldiers, and a greater authoritie to speake vnto the chieffest, then the common Souldiers haue with their Captaines. I haue likewise appoynted Chieffes of Squadrons, Corporalles, and Members, as many of the one sort as of the other, to make them all (in the seate of Justice) equall in authoritie one with another. Mozeouer, to auoyd all occasions of enuie amongst them, I haue chosen them all by lot, so that the one cannot say that he hath been preferred; nor the other, that he hath been reiected; except that the prisoner did refuse

him, and that the cause of the refusall were iust. Concerning that the sayd Iudges do deliuer their opinions secretly, it is to the intent that they should do it more freely, then they would do if that they should speake their opinions in the hearing of all men: for sometimes they might be troubled for iudging indifferently, because that the prisoner might be either parent or friend vnto some one of them, or that they might before haue receiued some good turne at his hands: whereupon they might be thought to bee ingratefull, if they did not requite a good turne at a neede: which is a reason to withhold the hearts of those that haue been beholding vnto him, from iudging according vnto equitie, although that the crime were the most haynous and most detestable that might be possible: specially if euery mans iudgement should be knowe afterwards: for in such a case there would very hardly bee any man, that would renounce the friendship of the prisoner, or would incurre the indignation of his parents, if he were a man of any reputation: but moreouer would make a difficultie to do any thing against him, who before had done them pleasure, or who had meanes, and friends to do them the like againe. Furthermore, if their opinions should bee verbally pronounced, it would bee doubtfull that the one of them would depend vpon anothers opinion: specially if they thought the first speakers to be men of iudgement: and it might bee that some amongst them durst not contrarie the first speakers, which might be an occasion sooner to sowe discorde, then to roote it out. Therefore, who so would haue the occasions of hatred amongst Soldiers to be wholly quenched, and extinguished, and that wicked men which do not their duetie as they ought to do, should bee pluckt out from amongst good men; must vse no other meane but iudge according vnto equitie. And to iudge iustly according vnto the lawe, the surest way is that euery man should deliuer his opinion secretly with a bullet: for so doing, it will be impossible for any man to knowe who hath released or condemned the prisoner: because that euery one of the Iudges shall knowe but only what he himselfe hath done; but not not what his companions haue done. And in this doing euery man will imploie himselfe to do his duetie, and iudge according vnto the law, not periuering

periuring himselfe any way to spare or condemne a prisoner wrongfully; who neuer shall come by the true knowledge who it was that did him good or hurt. To conclude, I do esteeme this forme of iudgement to bee the best and most surest that may be vsed in this case: albeit that iudgement may bee handled after diuers other manners; but after this manner should a Colonell handle his iudgements, if so be that he would maintaine good iustice amongst his hands, and make his Souldiers to liue like honest men. But if the manner before spoken of should seeme to be too long a worke: I do know no better way, then to leaue the determination of all matters vnto the Prouosts, and that they should iudge all Souldiers, whether they were Chieffes, officers, or simple companions: which Prouost should be inioyned to administer good and shor't iustice vnto all men, and to punish those rigorously that did not vse their vocations as they ought to do. And when as the crimes were such, or the persons of that qualitie, that it were not conuenient to proceed in iudgement immediately, and presently to do execution, because of the mutinie, and cause of offence that it might giue; it would suffice to do it as soone as it might be conueniently done: and if so be that the offender might not bee taken by day, or that it would bee dangerous to do execution, there must both be stay made of the apprehending, and punishing, vntill a fitter time: or the offender might be taken by night, or at the first holding vp of his finger, or at such time as he doth thinke that the offence is forgotten, and doth thinke least of it: to the intent that iustice might be well maintained, and that the crime which is deferred to be punished for a time, be not altogether forgotten.

How diuers crimes haue been sharply punished in times past: and how it is necessarie for a Lieutenant Generall to be somewhat cruell, if so be he would be well serued of his Souldiers.

The 4. Chapter.



Will here inferre certaine examples of the seueritie that the auncient Chieffes in times past haue vled towards their Souldiers, when as they did commit any great offence; I doe meane capitall crimes : which were committed after one of these two manners, either by one man onely, or by many (for sometimes whole Legions did offend) and were punished either perticularly or in generall. As for perticular persons, I do finde that the auncient Chieffes did punish chiefly all those that were not at their watches with their Ensignes, or with those whome they ought to followe in such like seruices : they likewise were punished that went from their watch after they were in it. Also he was punished that did forsake the place he ought to keepe or to fight in, or that did vaunt that he had done any good seruice, and was afterwards proued a lyar. He also was as sure to loose his life that fought with his enemies without leaue, or expresse charge, as if he had been slaine by them. Moreover, they that did throw away their armes for feare of their enemies, and those which did flye from a battaile, had their payment likewise with the others. Concerning generall fautes ; if the Legions did vse any rebellion against their Chieffes, or if that they did mutine, or did flye from their enemies, the custome was to put a great many of them vnto death, or the chieffest rebels : the least punishment was to castier them quite & cleane from the ordinary bands, and consequently to pronounce them to be infamous, and deprived of all those priuiledges, which the other Souldiers who serued their time, and went away with the good willes of their Chieffes, did enjoy and their children. Of which perticular and generall fautes, I haue here inferred certaine examples : by
which

which shall be shewed how the auncient Chieffes, and many other good Souldyers long since, haue grieuouſly punished all thoſe that did not their duties in the warres, and thoſe likewise that did commit any crime of importance. Chiefely diſloyaltie was had in contempt amongst them: and all thoſe that did falsifie their faiths, were grieuouſly punished with the most cruell death that could be deuised: as appeareth by Mutius Suffetius, who was pluckt in pieces betwixt two Maggons, because of his diſloyaltie vnto Tullius King of Rome in forsaking him, when as the Romans and the said King fought against theyr neighbours, and that he should haue succoured them with his men being there present with them, and sent for vnto that intent: who in stead of ayding the sayd Romans, and entring into battaile with them, stood still to see what successe they should haue in their fight: by meanes of which dissimulation, the Romans were in great doubt and ieopardy being forsaken, hauing to deale with two great armyes, to w^et, the Venetians, and the Fidenats, who were assembled against the Citie of Rome: but it came so to passe that the Romans got the victorie, and Tullius seized vppon the traytor, causing him to be put to death in the sight of all his partakers after the manner aforesayd. I do put in amongst these diſloyall persons all those strangers which sometime serue the King, and do forsake him at his neede, or do go away vnto his enemies without asking leaue: which diſloyaltie in mine opinion is so detestable, that it cannot be ynough contemned, nor punished so grieuouſly as it doth deserue, because it is a deceiuing of God and man: which crime is more practised at this day then euer it was, especially amongst a great number of Italyans, which do nothing but trot to and fro, now to one, and to morrow vnto another, not staying long in a place (but like peason boyling in a pot) and that for euery light occasion, so that there are very fewe of them that can haunt that they haue alwayes held vppon one side, so greatly is the said Nation subiect to the changing of opinions: and those whome the King hath mainteined long time, are the worst, who do forsake him as if they neuer had knowne him, sooner without taking their leaues, then otherwise: and this

they do aswell in time of warre as in peace, which is most dishonest and infamous, for at the least they should take their leaues before that they did forsake his seruice. I dare say that amongst the simple souldiers there is not one that hath continued in his seruice during the warres without going vnto his enemies, except the Chiefs haue had so good an eye vnto them, as that they could not escape when they would: so are there others likewise that do come from our enemies vnto vs, and so they do trot too & fro, not resting long in a place, yea, some of the that haue not taried one moneth in a place, do runne away the next day after that they haue passed muster. Our owne countrey men do the like oftentimes, many of them imitating the Italyans going vnto our enemyes, making no more difficultie then if they were stranges: there are also many of them that go home vnto their owne houses, and other that do go from one band vnto another as soone as they haue receiued their money, not making any accompt of the oath that they haue taken, making God as their compaignion, making no accompt of the Kings money which they do carry away & steale from him as approued theues, traitors, & periured persons, so that there is not almost one souldier that hath the feare of God, nor the reuerence due vnto christian religion before his eyes, for if they had, the oathes and promises which they do make should be obserued, & the wickednes which they do commit, should not be committed: but for that they do not feare him they do dispraise him, & dispraising him, it is not possible that they should keepe any thing that they do sweare in his name. Is it possible that they should feare him whose name they do blasphemie & contemne in all their communications? as we see they do, therefore there is no other remedy but to compell them by mans lawes to obserue that, which they do make no reckning to keepe by Gods lawes: and mine opinion is that it should be decreed, that who so euer should be found in this fault, were he Frenchman or stranger, should immediatly be beaten to death with mallets, or buried aliue, or pluckt in pieces with foure horses, or haue a stake thrust through his body, for other punishmētts are too gentle for such a crime. And as concerning the disloyalty of those which do go vnto our enemies without taking their leaues before that they beare armes against the King,

King, which liberty of departure with leaue is only to be permitted vnto those that are not bound vnto him either by faith or homage. I haue read one example of Henry the 7. Emperour of Rome, who caused an execution to be made in his Canipe, whē as he besieged the City of Bresse, vpon an Italyan named Galleas Brusat, who forsooke him without leaue, and serued against him with his enemies, who being taken by h̄ Emperour his men at a sally that he made out of the said towne, was immediately pluckt in pēces with Waggones. This example need not to be accompted auncient, for it is not about 200. yeares since it hapned, yet I haue alleaged it auncient, because that the manner of punishing of this offence doth like me better then h̄ we do vse at this time, which is either to hang, or to behead, or to passe the pikes, which punishments are to be thought to be rigorous ynough for many other crimes which the souldiers do commit, but for such an offence as this, I do thinke them to be too gentle: wherefore I will continue in mine opinion, that one of the aforesaid punishments ought to be vsed in this case, for these commers & goers are causes of too many inconueniences, and therefore when that any of them are taken, they should be so handled, that the remembrance of their punishment should remaine for an example for euer: and about all things we must neuer let such a crime scape unpunished, if we haue opportunity to punish it. The Romans had a great regard not to pardo their fugitiues, nor to restore thē vnto their goods, or first honors, nor to trust them at any time after with any charge whatsoeuer it were, as we do at this present, but they were assured to be put to a most cruell death whēsoeuer that they were taken, whereof we haue many examples in their histories, specially of those which Fabius Maximus found in certain townes which he tooke frō Anniball, who being sent vnto Rome, wer first of all whipt, & afterward throwne downe from an high rock. Certaine fugitiues that were delinered vnto Scipio by an accord h̄ was made betwixt the Romans & the Carthagenians, some were beheaded, & others crucified. The aforesaid Fabius at another time caused the hands of all the fugitiue Romans, and other strangers fugitiues h̄ had serued thē to be cut off, which he did, to the intēt h̄ the remembrance of the offence & punishment might be refreshed

refreshed as often as they were scene that had lost their hands. Yet me thinke that these pernicious people, although that they were maymed of their hands, should not therefore leaue to do many mischiefes, hauing the other parts of their bodies whole, wherefoze I would at the least dispatch them of all at once.

Paulus Æmilius after that he had vanquished Perseus King of Macedony, made all the fugitiues that were found in his enemies hoast to be slaine by Elephants: the sonne of the sayd Paulus, to wēt, that Scipio which razed Carthage, condemned all the fugitiues that he could lay hands vpon, to be quartered and deuoured with wilde beasts. Auidius Cassius, and many others, haue proceeded in the like busines most seuerely, and yet not so rigorously, but that they haue deserued a great deale more. Whereouer, the said Chiefs did most sharply punish those which did not obey the Proclamations and commaundements that were made by their Chiefs, as appeareth by the example of Manlius Torquatus, who caused his owne sonne to be beheaded for fighting with his enemies contrary to his commandement: and the victorie which he got saued not his life, and yet he was challenged by Combat body for body, of which challenge he could not rid his hands with honesty, if there had not bin commandement vnto the contrary: the said Mutius preferred the obseruation of militarie discipline before fatherly loue, and caused his sonne to be put to death. Within a little after there was ynough to do, for that Quintus Fabius, Captayne Generall of the Romane Horsemen, fought with his enemies contrary vnto the commaundement of the Dictator Papyrius Cursor, who although that he had ouerthrowne his said enemies, yet the Dictator would haue put him to death for his disobedience, so highly was this discipline and obedience esteemed amongst them aboue all things, without the which they knewe that the occupation of armes whereof they made their profession, and for which they were honored and feared more then any other Nation, would be abolished in short time, without the which, the Chiefs did neither deserue to be called Chiefs, nor the souldyers true souldyers, but might bee accounted to be a disordered multitude, if the Chiefs were not obeyed,

obeyed, nor the souldyers shewed themselves to be obedient : and thus much concerning the principall offences which souldyers do commit during the warres, and the disorders which they do, being in Campe, as running ouer the countrey, raun-
soming their hoasts, eating them vnto the boanes, pilling them, beating them that they do dye of it, and forcing their Wiues and daughters, and to be shott, for all the other outrages which they do. I haue many examples worthy to be remembred in such like cases, and those that haue happened specially amongst Heathen men, that haue had no knowledge of God, nor of his truth, who notwithstanding would not suffer that this wickednes should raigne amongst them, for the aforesaide Auidius Cassius doing all his endeuour to restore the discipline of the warres vnto his intier, after that it was made base and come to nothing, ordained that the souldiers that did take any thing from the people of the countrey where he came, should be crucified vppon the place. Peseinius the blacke, a great obseruer of auncient discipline, did condemne a whole Deceine of souldiers vnto death, for that they had taken a Cocke from a poore countreyman, and had eaten it, but to haue the good wills of his army, who instantly besought him to shewe mercy, he pardoned them, with condition that they should recompence the poore man with tenne times as much as the Cock was worth : and mozeouer, that no souldier of the Deceine should kindle fire as long as the warres lasted, nor should eate any thing but dry & rawe flesh. Alexander Seuerus did sharply & grieuously punish any of his souldiers that did go out of their way to runne into any house to do any damage, hauing alwayes these honest words in his mouth, Do not that vnto others, that thou wouldest not haue others do vnto thee. It were necessary that Captaynes at this day should vse the like diligence, for to auoide the disorders that souldiers do commit in marching vppon the way, for there shall hardly be house or village vpon the way, either farre or neere, but shall feele them, for they would be verie sozie if they had not left tokens behinde them, or that the countrey should not haue occasion to remember their passage long time after. I do not speake for those places which do oftentimes resist to giue
lodging

lodging vnto the King his good seruants, who march at his commaundement, to succour him in his extremitie, as many walled towneſ within this realme are accuſtomed to do, for a brauerie, or preſuming vpon their ſtrength, althougħ that the ſayde ſouldyers do demaund nothing but lodging and victuals. In which caſe me thinke there would be no great hurt done if that they might be ſhewed what difference there is betwixt theſe ſubiectſ that do abandon their goodes, and hazarde theyr liues to ſerue their Prince: and thoſe that are good for nothing but to rake vp the fire, and to hurt thoſe that do him ſeruice. But I do ſpeake concerning villages, open places, and houſes that ſtand ſcattered hère and there, who haue neither power nor will to reſiſt, whome they do uſe like vnto places that had reſiſted them, and done them much hurt: ſo that there are but fewe Townes, Villadges, or houſes that can ſcape free whereas men of warre do paſſe, but they ſhall be let bloud in the purſſe, either by the Captaynes, or harbingers, if ſo be that they were too farre out of the way for the ſouldyers. And if the ſouldyers ſhould come there, it would be worſſe, for that there is no man, or if there be any, it is very fewe, that do withdrawe them from doing euill, for that there are many Chieſes that do make no other accoumpt, but that euery man might do what he would himſelfe, for that they do reaſonably well for their owne partes. Moreouer, it would be very hard to make the ſimple ſouldyers to liue honeſtly, and their ſuperiours to make their hands, for the rule muſt be generall, and the ſmall muſt imitate the great. This taking that I ſpeake of is ſo vſuall at this day, that robbery doth ſeeme to be but a rent, ſo that there is no accoumpt made to puniſh thoſe that do ranſacke the places þ are in their paſſage: I do ſpeake both of the Captaynes & ſouldiers that do pillage the countrey. Thoſe likewiſe ought to be puniſhed which do ſeake to corrupt Captains, or harbingers, cauſing them to paſſe any one place to goe vnto another: and thoſe alſo ought not to goe free which do take vpon them to lodge in any place with intent to be reuenged of the ſaid place through the charge, trouble, and damage that ſouldiers ordinarily do whereas they lodge, and being lodged to ſuch an intent,

intent, it will make their willes sharper to do ill, who of themselves are so sharpe, that they neede no whetstone, for in such a case there would be but too many askers found, whereas if punishment were vsed, there should be no man would put forward himselfe.

The aforesaide manner of rebellion doth deserue to haue an expresse order made, commaunding that Souldoyers which do march through the countrey with good commission, should be readily obeyed, and if so be that the said souldoyers did commit any crime, except satisfaction were made immediately, the townes where the crime was committed, should be holden, to send accusations and complaints vnto the Lieutenant Generall, or vnto the Gouvernour of the countrey, to attache the Chiefe himselfe. Moreouer to speake truly, to suffer a baggage towne, or a good, to shut their gates against men of warre, which do goe to serue the King, and do vse themselves like honest men, there is neither reason nor order in it, for first of all it is a resistance against the King who doth pay them, secondly, it is the way to famish the poore men. Moreouer it may be that they may take their ill vsing in so ill part as to leaue their Captaine in the lurch that hath bin at the charge to leuy them, and returne home againe. Furthermore, this refusal might encourage the countrey people to be as vnreasonable as the townes that do shut their gates, and cause them to assemble themselves a great number together to charge them, imagining that they might lawfully do it, forasmuch as the townes did resist the said souldiers. And I leaue it vnto your consideration to thinke vnto what end all these inconueniences might come. For the shutting of the souldoyers out of theyr townes, is in truth the way to ruyne them, for that the suburbs of townes are not commonly so great, that all the souldoyers of one, or many bands may lye couered ouer head, and in such places the sayde towne may stande, as there is neither house nor bushe neere, who then hauing no tents with them (as they are accustomed to carry none) except that the place haue many trees in it for them to cut downe, which would be too great a domage, they must lye in y^e deaw all night, & therfore how little time

time soeuer that this course doth last, they do fall sick, and dye by the way, whereas else they would come fresh vnto the Campe, & in state to do seruice: in summe, it is the way to make both the Captaines and Souldiers to dispaire, and to cause them to do those things, which when they are done, might displease both parties, and when all is well wayed it must be so: for we do say commonly, that of two euils, we must auoide the greatest, for in mine opinion, there would be lesse hurt to enter forcibly into one of these rebell townes, and rather into the first that should stand vpon these tearmes, then any other, to make the rest afrayde: prouided that they did kill no body if it were possible, and that there might be no rauishing of women, Church robberies, or other disorders committed, then to suffer resistance, or to haue a warre with the countrey all alongst their way, or to be in danger of famine, or of being ouerthrowne, or of falling sicke for want of lodging, and so to returne home againe, for these are matters of a greater damage, then the forceible taking of a place, forasmuch as of the one there doth ensue but the damage of certaine resistants, who are the first causers of the strife; and of the other might procede the discredit of many poore Captayns, for that they might be vnfurnished of their people to serue their Prince, which is a hard match for them, and ynough to throwe them downe from honoz all the dayes of their life, besides the daunger that they are in to be slaine by their owne souldiers, if so be that they did mutin during those troubles, as hath hapned many times in like cases. On the other part the King might find himselfe so vnprouided of people, & so forced by his enemyes, that a small power might do him great seruice, and perhaps giue him the victorie, for I haue vsed it for a prouerbe, that a thousand men sometimes are not worth one, and at others one is worth a thousand. Moreover, if the bands that should be taken vp in Fraunce should find these rebellions, there is no man although he were willing that could do him seruice, so that the King should be vnprouided of souldiers at all times when as he had neede, wherefore all considered, me thinke that there might be a time found to chasten these rebels, seeing that the souldiers do enter and lodge in the
best

best Citties of the Realme, when as they are commaunded to marche : or there should bee a generall lawe, that they should altogether lie in the fields, or else that they should be receiued into the towne that were appointed for them to lodge in : and not to suffer certaine perticular places to resist, whereas all Fraunce in generall dooth obey. But to leaue this matter, to the intent that aswell the Captaines as the Souldiers should know that the vertue of the Heathen hath bene such, that they did forbid their people to do, & which we Christians do amongst vs, in deuouring and oppressing one another, that the wicked might amend their liues. I am about to declare what the Emperour Aurelian did write vnto his Lieutenant Generall, concerning the life of his Souldiers : the tenor of his letter was this.

If so bee that thou art determined to bee my Lieutenant, or if thou wilt liue long, it were necessarie that thou shouldest commaund, that no Souldier should bee so bold, as to take a Hen or a sheepe from any man, or to carrie away a plant of a Vine, or to spoile the seede vpon the ground : nor likewise that they should constraine anye man to giue them oyle, wood, or other thing : but should content themselves with that portion of victuals, that was deliuered them out of the Roze. Furthermore thou shalt forbid them to make anye bootie or prea of the poore peoples goods that are our freends, but onely prea vpon our enemies.

Moreouer thou shalt enioyne them, that euerye man shall haue his harness cleane and bright at all times, his weapons sharpe and well kept, the Souldiers them selues to bee well hoaled, and when as they are newe apparrelled, let them rid them selues off the olde quight & cleane : cause them to keepe their wages warely, and suffer them not to spend it in drunkenesse or in Tauernes. What so euer they be that haue gotten any prise by force of armes, as Bracelets, Collers, or Rings, let them be worne ordinarilie.

Moreouer, for the horsemen, let them curry and rubbe their Horses of price them selues, if any of them doe make

any bootie of Cattle, suffer them not to bee soulede, but let them remaine in the hoaste for the seruice of Souldiers, or for foode: and let euerye one of them in his turne looke vnto the Pule or Horse that is appointed to carrie the Baggage of the Deceine or Squadron that hee is of. Moreover, thou shalt make thy Souldiers to bee seruiceable one vnto another as if they were bounde vnto this dutie as slaues: and cause the Chirurgeons to heale them without taking anye thing of them. Finallie let them giue nothing vnto Southsayers, and cause them to liue chastely with their hostes: and whosoever is authoz of any mutinie, let him be greuously punished.

And this was the contents of the letter that the sayd Emperour did write vnto his Lieutenant: which was not written vnto the Souldiers of that age to better purpose: then it would be necessary for vs at this time, at the least a great part of it: noz the said Emperour had neuer more need to vse greater seueritie towards his Souldiers, then it is necessary for vs to vse at this daye towards ours. A man cannot sufficiently declare the wante of Justice, that wee haue amongst vs: because that all vices doe raigne amongst vs, and that we do passe them by dissimulation: or if that anye offender bee punished, the punishment is not so grievous as it ought to bee: for wee punish great fautes and small all alike: for as well shall hee bee quit with a hanging, that hath rauished a woman, as hee that hath stolne but one loafe of bread, or anye other small thing: notwithstanding the punishments ought to bee different, for that the crimes of rauishing, is without comparison, more shamefull, and detestable then robbing.

I would that the seueritye of the sayde Aurelian, were vled amongst vs: for I doe thinke that our forciers of women would then bee rudelye ynough handled, if wee would imitate his example by the punishment that hee did vnto one of his Souldiers that had committed adulterye with his Hostesse: which woorde of adulterye dooth impoerte a freewill in it selfe, and is not to bee thought so haynous as forcering: yet notwithstanding

withstanding hee caused him to bee set betwixt two high trees, and the toppes of the trees to bee bowed downe-warde, and one of his legs to be made fast vnto the one tree, and the other vnto the other tree, and being so bounde, the trees were let goe at once, so that the trees springing vp, pluckte him in two peeces. Which manner of Justice was long after of such force, that there was no Souldiers of his that durste commit anye offence, they were made so sore afrayde with the punishment that was vsed vnto one poore adulterer, which vice was almoste as much vsed at that tyme, as it is at this daye.

The Emperour Macrinus caused two of his Souldiers to bee put to death, after a strange manner, that had rauished their Hostesse mayde: which was, hee caused two great Oxen to bee paunched, and put the condemned into theyr bellies, and theyr bellies to bee sowed vp afterwarde: and to the intent that they might speake eache vnto other, hee appointed that they should haue theyr heads out: so that these two offenders did rotte, and were eaten with the Vermine that engendered of the flesh, as it did corrupt: yet not so soone but that they pyned many dayes. A wortheie example for all other to bee warned by.

The like punishments did the auncient Chieffes inuent to punish the wicked that did commit offence, not onelye against those that did the like vnto the foresayd, but also against those that did seeke to betraye anye Towne, and sell it vnto theyr enemyes, or to put anye troope of men into theyr handes, or other thinge, as it seemed by a certaine treason that diuers young men of Rome did practise to put Torquinius into theyr Cittie: who being discouered, were beheaded, with diuerse other of theyr partakers: and amongst others two of the Sonnes of Brutus, who being then Consull, commaunded the execution to bee doone vpon them.

There was likewise in our time certayne of those traytors punished, which is a thing wortheie to be had in remembrance: It was when the Lorde Rans was Lieutenant for the King in

Barlette in the kingdome of Naples, who hauing giuen charge of the towne and Souldiers in his absence: whilst hee was occupied to winne certaine places vpon the mountaine of Saintange, vnto an Italian Captaine named Ieronimie of Cremona: who had sold the sayde Towne vnto the Spaniards that were at Andria vnder the Countie of Boeiel: which traitor being taken with his Seriant, who onely were found culpable in this treason: were condemned to bee hanged by the seete vntill they died. Which sentence being executed immediately, the Seriant was hanged ouer the gate towards the sea, and the Captaine at one of the windowes in the Castle. I saw them hanging in this manner, when I came from the Spanish Campe, with whome I was kept prisoner from our overthrow at Naples, vntill I came vnto Barlette, not finding any meanes to depart sooner.

Another like execution was doone at Thurine, by the Lord of Boutiers, vpon a traitor which brought the Spaniards into one of the Bulwarkes of the towne: so that if the sayd Lord had not beene in place as he was for his great profit, the towne had beene lost at that time: but thereby his vigilance was knowne, and that he was not a man that loued his ease as many others doe, when as they are appointed to keepe places that are worth the keeping.

The traitor as it was told me was drawne in peeces with foure hoxses: and hee did well deserue to bee so punished or worse: considering the great damage that might haue ensued of the losse of the saide towne, which is of such importance, that it were necessarie to haue good Cheefes in it, which should be vigilant, as the said Lord of Boutiers was, and as the Lord of Langey is, who dooth gouerne it at this instant: who cannot faile in executing of this charge any waye, for his vertues and perfect knowledge in learning and armes. I dare saye that hee hath a great care of the charge of the foresayde Thurine: for our enemies haue a good will to get it from vs, and doe alwaies vse all their indeuour: for in mine opinion it is the towne that they doe most desire in all Italie: wherefore the King ought to make a great reckoning of it.

Forasmuch as I haue saide before that the faulces committed by perticular persons were punished perticularly, and those which the Legions did commit in Generall, were punished generally.

Having spoken of perticular punishment : it resteth to shew how the Legions were punished for the generall crime or disorder which they did commit : whereof we haue an ensample in the life of Augustus Caesar, who cassierd the tenth Legion reprochfullpe, because they had disobeyed him : which was a blot of infamie, that honest men did feare moze then death : because they were alwaies after repulsed and relected from all honest places, after that they were once cassierd, and were neuer after suffered to follow the wars, nor to exercise any charge, nor to attaine to office or estate whatsoeuer it were. This maner of cassiering of hands hath bene vled in Prouince in our time, by the Lord Constable vpon parte of those of the Garrison of Arle, and by the Lord Marshall of Monticane in Thurin : but this maner was not like in all things, because that the auncient Chieffes declared theirs to be unfit for all honest busines : & those that the said two Lords did cassier were not so handled : but they may aswell attaine vnto any office, as if they neuer had bin cassierd : The cause of this cassiering, was for a mutinie that was committed by the Souldiers of both the foresayd townes, against the said Lords, who presented the king his person, & they proceeded so far, that they did enter both their lodgings forceably. We are so giuen vnto these mutinies, that there is no nation that dooth care for our companies one howe, but they had rather be farre from vs, then neare vnto vs : because that we runne from one vnto another, for euery small occasion, and are hastier to begin these quarrels amongst our selues, then to fight with our enemies when time requireth : and these disorders doe oftener happen, when as we haue our enemies neere vs then farre of : for which there must be some good order taken, and most sharpe punishment vled, as often as these mutinies doe happen, and that Souldiers do rise against their Chieffes. As for the mutinies of perticular bandes amongst themselves, I would haue him layd handes vpon that were the occasion of the mutinie, or

had begun it : and would haue him put to death after the maner that we are accustomed to punish mutiners at this present. And if so be that any did lay hands vpon the Captaines or Chieffes, I would haue them to bee put to some cruell death : as to bee buried aliue, to haue their bones broken, or to bee drawne at a Horse taile vntill such time as their bodies did fall a peeces : or haue the to be punished in such sort, that it might be an example and a feare vnto all others. And for to waight a time conuenient to lay hands vpon one of these mutiners, I would haue the greatest patience that might be possible : and rather dissemble a yeare or two, then to suffer one mutiner to escape the punishment that he had deserued. And if so be that a whole Legion had committed this offence, that there were no meanes to know the principall mutiners, there were no better way then to imitate the auncient Chieffes heerein, who tooke out the tenth man, or a great part of their people, when as the fault was generall : and this taking was doone by lot, which was an occasion that the punishment did touche but some certaine number, and yet they all in generall were made afraid to be of that number that the lot did condemne.

Wherefore because that euery man was in daunger of this lot, they endeuoured with all their powers to doe their duties iustlye, fearing to beare the burthen of other mens faults. The lot likewise was vsed, when as the bandes or Legions did forsake a place, or runne away before their enemies : for that to put a whole armie vnto death had bene too great a losse, therefore they tooke the tenth man, and sometime more : and he was executed immediatlye. That which Appius Claudius did amongst his Souldiers, may witnesse my sayengs : who fighting against the Voloces, fled from the battaile : for which cause he did put to death all the Captaines, Centeniers, Corporals, and Souldiers of his hoaste that had lost their armes, and the Ensigne bearers that had lost their Ensignes, and not content with all this, hee caused the tenth man of the Souldiers to be put to death by lot.

Augustus Caesar caused likewise the tenth man of certaine bandes that fled from their enemies to bee slaine. Many other Chieffes

Chieffes haue proceeded extraordinarily in this busines, as the one was moze seuerer then the other. The Lacedemonians made a lawe, that who so fled from a battaile, might neuer attaine vnto office in theyr commonwealths, nor marrye theyr daughters (if that they had any) nor take wiues if they were to marry. Moreover it was lawfull for any man that did meete them vpon the waye, to strike or beate them at his pleasure: so that those poore miserable creatures were subiect vnto blowes, and vnto a thousand infamies, that the worst Cittizens might doe vnto them. And to the intent that they might bee knowne from other men, they did weare their coates of two coulours, and their beards shauen on the one side, and long on the other. If this law had been established in Fraunce during the warres which haue bene in our time, there would be moze Souldiers found wearing partie couloured coates, and halfe shauen, then others: but let that passe: it might suffice if wee had a good will to amend our faultes for that that is to come, and to doe our endeuour from henceforth better then wee haue done hitherto. To be bræfe, the seueritie of the ancient Chieffes did not onely extend vnto the punishment of those faultes which deserved death. But also they had a regard vnto those faultes that were not of that importance, to the intent to leaue no fault unpunished, how little soeuer it was, contrarie vnto the discipline of the warres, as their Histories do make mention. Our Generall shall likewise take order that all the faults which his souldiers should commit, might be grieuously punished, how little soeuer they were, contrarie vnto the discipline of the warres, or vnto the King his seruice, although they were not damageable at that time that they were committed, but might be afterwards. Wherefore the said Generall must looke deeply into this matter, causing offenders to be punished according vnto the qualitie of the offence that they did commit, hauing a regard vnto the euill that hath ensued, or the inconuenience that might ensue: for which consideration it is necessary that the said General should be somewhat cruell, if he would be well serued by his people; cheefely at the beginning, vntill he hath brought them in order to liue well, & to that point, that they do exercise their faculty as it ought to be.

And if so be that he himselſe were of ſo gentle, and pittifull nature, that he would not puniſh offenders rigorouſly : yet were it neceſſarie that ſome other ſhould cauſe the puniſhment to be doone for him. For which intent I haue inſtituted befoze, the Juſtice of the Legions, which maner of iuſtice he may uſe if hee will : both for to eaſe himſelfe of trouble, as alſo for not withdrawing his wits fro his other buſineſs, but whether he himſelf dooth take knowledge of the offences that his people do commit, or that he doe referre it vnto their Chieſes, thoſe that doe commit any heynous crime : and amongſt others, the one of them that I haue named befoze, ought to be extraordinarily puniſhed. And to the intent that theſe wicked offenders might bee puniſhed according vnto their deſerts, and that the example might withdraw others from doing the like : it were neceſſarie to deuise ſome new torment, to puniſh them with the moſt terribleſt death that might be inuented. And if ſo be that any man will ſaye that a Captaine Generall ought to bee mercifull, and not ſuch a one as I would haue him, I doe aunſwer, that to execute Juſtice is no crueltie, but to giue euery one his hyer, vnto the good all good things, and vnto the wicked theyr reward : for euen as we hold it for a moſt ſure opinion, that good men cannot be ſo well eſteemed or rewarded, but that they doe deſerue much moze : ſo likewiſe we may ſay by thoſe that are wicked, that it is impoſſible to puniſh them ſo grieuouſly, but that they doe deſerue a great deale moze. He thinkes that whoſoeuer dooth betraye his Prince, in what manner ſoeuer it bee, or dooth faile to perſorme the principall pointes of the arte of the warres : or generally any other that may bee an occaſion of the ſlackening of his ſeruiſe : that is to ſay, if he doe hinder it willingly, and erre wilfully, ſuch ought to be tormented after the moſt cruelleſt ſoze that may be deuised : & that Generall ſhould haue ſuch people in his hoſt, ought to put them to death with one of the tormētts aboueſaid, without mercy or pardon. And althoough hee ſhould be counted to be cruell, for vſing of ſuch rigour, yet ſhould not this litle withdraw him from doing his endeouour, but god mē will not blame him, but eſteeme him the moze, & beſides their eſtimation, the blame of the wicked is a thing not to be accom-

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ted of at all. Moreover, hee shall be enforced to doe so, if hee haue a great number in charge, whether that they be all of one nation, or of diuers: for except that he be feared, & accompted to be such a one, he shall neuer keepe his hoast in quiet, nor haue haue them readie & willing at al howses to obey him.

Amongst all the great acts, for which Anniball is renowned, I finde one to be the chiefest: that is, that he hauing vnder his conduct a very great army compounded of diuers nations, did gouerne them so well, that he neuer had one onely mutinie in his camp, although they were of straunge countries, & did sometimes win, and sometimes loose: which is a thing worthy to be remembred. The occasion of the maintaining of his armie in this peace, in mine opinion, was the vnnaturall cruelty which he did vse, which together with his vertues, made him alwaies to be reuerenced and feared of his souldiers: but without his seueritie: his good qualities would haue done him as little seruice as Scipio his did him: who although hee was accompted to be one of the most vertuous men that euer was: yet for that he was no waies cruell, but the readiest man to pardon that euer was seene, his lenitie so bouldened his souldiers to mutinie in Spayne against the chieffes, and to rebell. His great pittie another time, was cause of the destruction of those of Locres, and that many murthers were committed amongst his owne people. So that it appeareth, that lenitie, & pity are not profitable for a Chiefe that will be obeyed of his souldiers, and that cruelty is more necessary for him. But because that this word, is somewhat odious, I will terme it seuerity, & will say that a Lieutenant Generall that both pretend to do good seruice: ought to be as seuer as is possible. And if so be that he doe not punish so rigorously, as is aforesaide, yet at the leaste he should suffer no fault to scape unpunished: for in so doing e- uery man will indeuour to doe well, and feare to offend seeing no offence shall be borne withall. And if I were asked whether it were better for a Generall to be feared, then loued of his people, or to be beloued then feared: I would answer, that he ought to doe his indeuour to bee both, if it were possible. But for that it is hard that feare and loue should bee alied together, I say

I say that it is much moze surer to be feared, then to be beloued, if that he might not be both : forasmuch as we doe see that souldiours are generally ingratefull, variable, deceitfull, doe willingly eschue perill and couet gaine, & whilst that they are provided for and that there is no great neede of them, they doe say that they are ready to serue, and to be wholly at the commandment of their Chieffes : but when it dooth come vnto the pulse that they must be put to their busines, then they do faine them selues sicke, or start away, or doe finde some forged excuse to bee exempted from their seruice : so that if there be no other meane to induce them to doe their indeuour, the accompt may bee made that they will doe nothing of them selues. Which other meanes must rather bee for the loue that they doe beare vnto their Generall, because that all men haue least regarde to offend him who maketh him selfe to be beloued, then him that maketh him selfe to be feared : for bicause that loue is held by a certaine bond of obligation, which is soone broken by those men who doe loue their perticuler profits, moze then their honesties : of which sorte the most parte of souldiers are at this day. But feare is held of a doubt to incurre the punishment which is appointed for euery fault, which feare doth neuer leaue those that doe their indeuour by force.

But a Generall must make him selfe to bee so feared, that if hee could not get the loue of his souldiers, yet at the least hee should not make him selfe to be hated by them. For these two things may well agree together, to wit, to be feared, and not to bee hated. With which meane the Lord of Lautrec helped him selfe as well as any Generall that was before him or since : for he was so feared of his men with out hatred, that euery man doubted to disobay him : many examples thereof were seene in many places, but specially vpon Easter day a litle from Naples, where his Camp was in such a mutunie one against another, that there was neither Colonells, nor Captaine Generalls that could appease them, or keepe them from beginning a warre amongst them selues, not vnlike to haue made a merueilous medley, if the sayd Lord had not gone betwixt them to parte them : which hee did with so litle difficultie, that as

as hee was arriued there was no stroke stricken, nor man that kept his place: but they vanished sodainely out of his presence some one way some another, hee neither beating nor striking any man: but onely for the feare that euery man had to doe ought that might displease him. And in truth hee did all with his Souldiers that hee would doe, for which cause hee stroke them not: knowing that to bee common and famillier with euery man (although that this familiarity in getting y^e fauour and loue of men) might bee an occasion to emboulden them to offend sooner then if hee shewed him selfe to bee straunge and seuerer: considering moreouer, that although hee made him selfe to be feared of his Souldiers, that he was not therefore to be hated of them: but also furthermore he lost nothing by shewing him selfe to be such a none as hee would haue his Souldiers for to bee. Moreouer, if there were occasion to put any man to death, the cause being iust, hee deferred it not: so that things were handled by him, that hee was not to bee repproued.

In like manner must our Generall lyue with his people, and to haue that excellencie in him, to make him selfe to be loued and feared.

How Souldiers ought to bee recompenced after that they haue doone good seruice: with the Author his excuse.

Chap. 5.

To the Lord Constable.



As much as the lawes that doe concerne Militarie discipline, where vnto souldiers that doe exercise the warres are bound and subiect, are so rigorous that it cannot bee possible that they should bee more: it is reason on the other parte, to institute certaine Priviledges, Honors, Authorities, Dignities, Gifts, and profits, to recompence those that haue honestly acquitted them selues of their dueties: and

and which haue patiently borne the burden of the warres, during the time that the king his pleasure was to bee serued by them. For there is nothing more iust then where offenders are greatly punished, that wel deseruers should be well rewarded: if so be that we would haue men to hope, and feare all at once. For which cause the Romans did ordaine a certaine recompence for euery vertuous acte: to wete, for him that saued any citizens life, fighting against his enemies: likewise, vnto him that got by first vpon a wall, or that entred first at a breache, or into his enemies forte: likewise, for him that in any sally out of a towne besieged, did first passe his enemies trenches: in summe, euery vertuous acte was remembred, and recompenced by the Consuls: and moreover, praised publikely of euery man. And besides the honour & good fame that those that did obtaine those gifts did get amongst other souldiers, they might weare them amongst the citizens, and goe to and fro with them, and none other durst weare the like, but onely those which had gotten them by the way abouesaide. I will not stay to tell what gifts they were, nor whereof the garmentes were that were giuen them: for it is inough that the recompence was good: and although it was not riche, yet it was honourable. The King had ordained that y Legionaries which did any acte of valour should haue certaine gould rings giuen them: and that order had beene very good if it had beene kept. I would likewise, that those of whom I treat here, should haue vppergarments, or rings, or bracelets, or Jewels, I doe not care what they were, so that they might serue for tokens and shewes vnto the world, that those that did weare them had behaued them selues like vnto men of vertue. Moreover, they might enioy the Priuiledges and other freedoms which the lawes of Emperours doe permit, and also the Perogatiues which the auncient Souldiers did enioy amongst the auncient Romans. The King might likewise exempt them from taxes, and though not from all, yet at the least from parte. And if so be that he conquered any country or towne by force of armes, hec might people them with those souldiers that had taken paines to doe him seruice, and bannishe the other inhabitants

taunts as I haue saide befoze : or place them amongst the first inhabitaunts, if the said towne & countrie were able to receiue them all.

The orders of the Legions doe impoꝛt that those that haue bene maymed of their limmes in the king his seruice, should be put into Garrisons & be kept there as the other dead payes were, and the recompence is honest. But foꝛ that it is not only inough to recompence maimed men, & to forget others that haue shew- ed them selues to be honest men, although that they were not maymed, foꝛ I am of opinion that ꝑ king should make accompt of all those that had serued him faithfully in his warres, and should be informed of euery man his deserts, to the intent that he him selfe might cut their bread, and not a quidam, whom the matter doth not touch at all, and who will passe it lightly : except it bee the Generall that hath had them in charge, or some other that doth know their deserts, which to doe well must distribute here one thing and there another, according vnto euery man his valour and merite, whether they bee places of dead payes, keeping of Castles, Captaine shippes, Baltages, Pro- uosties, Steward-shippes, or other courtlike offices : and if so be that those offices and estates may not suffice, the king hath wherewithall to recompence them richly by pension or other- wise: at the vttermost there are many gouernments in France, which may be charged to maintaine a great number. More- ouer, the Prelats & great benefices of France might be charged to maintaine another parte, with the third penny of their reue- nues which they are bound to imploy foꝛ the maintenance of the poore, but they doe it not: wherefoze it would be labour well spent to make them to be charitable, that will not be so of them selues. And this I meane foꝛ the recompencing of simple soul- diers & poore gentlemen : as foꝛ the Chiefs, they may be recom- penced with the offices and estates abouesaide. If that souldiers did hope to be recompenced honestly when as the warres were ended, & to liue without feare of pouerty: it is a thing most cer- taine, that whilst they are in the wars they would incline them selues to no other thing, but to do the king good seruice: where- as they are constrained befoze all things to thinke vpon their particuler profit, and afterward to exercise their facultie. But

God

God knoweth howe, for wee doe see, that who so doth not win by his industrie, doth loose his time in tarrying untill that another doe geue him any thing: and that is also the occasion that souldiers at this day doe vse the warres for their occupation, & not to the intent to doe the Prince seruice that doth giue them their wages. Wherefore, when as the warres doe faile, there are fewe souldiers that will labour or worke againe at the occupation that they did learne in their yonth: and then, if they haue nothing to maintaine thē to liue idely, they do become robbers & skouters vpon waies, as Montclou his men did, and many other the like haue done in France, since the king his raigne.

I speake nothing of the subletties that they doe vse, nor of the desire that they haue of the continuance of the warre, nor what enemies they are vnto the peace, nor how they doe seeke many inuētions to delay the king his seruice, which they would not doe, if that they had any hope to be recompenced.

To conclude, I doe say that who so shall leuie souldiers after the maner before spoken of in this booke, and shall vse the obseruations of punishment, and rewarde abouesaide towarde those that through their good, or ill deeds had deserued praise or blame, & he should haue as good souldiers as euer were. Whereof there must be no doubt made: for I dare affirme & these here spoken of are in all points so well ordred, as any souldiers were since that the Romans were in their triumph: and to prooue & it is so, who so dooth looke into it, shall find that they are first of all leuied and chosen according vnto true election, & besides so well armed & weaponed (that in mine opinion) there is nothing to be founde fault with all. Moreover, the distribution of them vnto bands and officers, doth agré partly with & ancient maner, and partly with & maner & is now vsed: besides, the maner of ranging them is borrowed of both: so & what maner soeuer & ancient Romans did vse & was better then ours, & that which we haue & is better then theirs, hath bin here in obserued: and as for & number if it be thought to bee too small, I doe not say & it is forbidden to make it greater, whether it were of foote-men or horsemen. But I am well assured & the ordinary host of a Roman Consull, was not so great of Citizens, & alliance as these before spoken of: neither is that much greater which Vi-
getius

getius instituteth, if so be y they be not equal all things compared: and yet the Romaines helped themselves against the greatest part of their aduersaries, with their small number, except when as they had to deale with a mighty enemy, and then they did put two Consuls hostes together: and then if their number amounted vnto 50000. Romanes, Allies & Voluntaries, that came without commandment, it was a whole world. Sith then they did augment their number at their neede, what shall let vs to leuie as many as we will, hauing men now as well as they had, if it were 50000. or 100000. if it were requisite? but this great leuie may be reserued vntill an extremitie, & y abovesaid fower legions might serue for a warre of meane importance: to wit, if wee were to encounter but with 30000. or 40000. enemies. For I do make account, that the order that is vsed in this small number is more worth then an enemy that hath fifteen or twenty thousand more. And if so be that wee did leuie any small number more then these, they might serue for suddaine courses, and skirmishes, and to put into garrisons in conquered townes: as for a daye of battaile, these fower legions with their accomlishmentes, may doe as good seruice as if they were a greater number, for peradventure a greater number would make a confusion, as great multitudes are accustomed to doe, for that they cannot so well be ordered as a meane number. Pirrhus the king of the Epirotes, vsed to saye that hee would haue but 15000. onely to fight against all men. The small number of Alexander his souldiers do verifie his words, which number being well ordered, were more woorth then Darius great multitude ill gouerned.

Moreouer, I doe thinke that I haue so well aduertised the Generall that might haue the conduct of this people of so many points, that if he doe leese any thing, or doe not bring his enterprizes to a good end, it shalbe his own negligence that wil hinder him and not the want of aduertisement of anye thing that might serue his turne: for I haue shewed him how he shal take least hurt, and haue taught him how to giue battaile, and to get the victorie. Moreouer, I haue shewed him what might happen during y combat, or after, & the way to remedy inconueniencies.

Consequent-

Consequently, I haue led him througħ his enemies so sure, that he was not to bee surprized, and haue made mention of the inconueniences that may happen vnto an host, marching by the way: afterward I haue lodged him so strongly incamped, that he might rest with his people without feare of any man. Moreover, he hath bin taught diuers pollicies for to ouercome his enemies y^e are left after a bataile: & what order ought to be obserued in the besiedging of a town. Moreover I haue giuen him laws to helpe him selfe withall, for to haue good seruice of the people vnder his charge; and therewith haue shewed him how he might proceede in his iudgementes for to condemne or release a prisoner. Finally, I haue inferred at the taile of these thinges before spoken of: certaine examples of the seueritie that the auncient Chieffes did vse, when as they did punish any crimes of impotence: of all which there hath bin so largely spoken, that as I haue tired my selfe in writing them, so I doubt that those that shall througħly peruse them, will be weary themselves in reading them. What resteth now then, but to conclude, that who so would put this leaue in practise should make his Souldiers the most excellentest men of war that haue bin since the Romanes; which is so easie a matter to be instituted in Fraunce, and to be maintained, that nothing is more easie. If it had pleased God that the leuieng of our legions had bene like it: for it might bee thought that the king would haue liked them so well, that hee would not haue changed or released them, for to haue bin serued with strangers, or aduenturers as he hath done: & yet I hope he wil remember himselfe, & make his wars with his own people. But suppose that he doth reiect the legions, & that the order spoken of in this worke, be not worthy to be receiued: yet I do hope shortly to see, that Militarpe Discipline shall bee restored vnto her auncient force by the sayd Lorde, and througħ the diligence that you my Lorde Constable will imploy before all other, both for your office sake, and also for that I do thinke that you were ordained for to deliuer vs from the seruitude of strangers, wherein we haue bene long time, who may vaunt that they haue bene the disposers of all the warres that wee haue made within thys 30. yeares, and haue made vs to losse as often as it pleased the.

For

for in truth all our hope and trust consisted, and it lay in theý hands for to defend or to destroy vs, but I am in good hope that through the good order that you will take, that we shall no more hereafter be at their mercy : which opinion, both Frenchmen and strangers haue of you, grounding their argument vpon that which you haue begun, in shewing the Frenchmen þ way how to resist all their enemies. And moreover because that you haue begun to refoyme the state of the horsemen not long since, it is thought that you will not leaue the footemen in their accustomed error, specially for that the horsemen had not so great neede of refoimation as the footemen. Besides, it is not so requisite to haue good horsemen, as good footemen, for the footemen are they that may winne or leese a battaile, and not the horsemen, except that it be by a great chaunce. I am assured that you putting your helping hand vnto this worke, shall be well assisted by many good and auncient Captaines, who do vnderstand this busines better then I can expresse it. And moreover, there are my Lords the Marshals, and so many other to helpe, that it would be impossible if the matter were once set abroach, and put in question, but that it would haue good successe : and for to make the matter the more easý, this realme is so well furnished with experimented, wise, and wellwilling men, that there wanteth nothing to set vp this arte incontinent, but the setting of them aworke, and shewing them the manner how to exercise those small things that appertaine thereto : wherefore there is no more to do but to make a leuy of men after the manner that I haue shewed, or after a better, and immediatly to commit them vnto the charge of those that are fittest, and do best vnderstand this busines for to traine them : and if the matter were so handled, you may be sure (as you do well vnderstand) that this discipline well exercised, would restore vs vnto the reputation that we haue lost through our negligence, and besides that, you should get an immortall fame for your trauell. Moreover my Lord, if I did not knowe the great affection that you haue borne of long time vnto this refoimation, I would enforce my self to perswade you thereto at this instant, but knowing that it would be but foolishly done of me to trouble you with a

matter that you so greatly desire, I wil but only remember you
 for þ speedy effecting of your desire, to the intent that we might
 yet one day haue amongst vs the manner, bawle, & aduantage
 that a well ordered hoast hath aboue an hoast that is ill ordered,
 to do vs seruice chiefly against the enemies of our faith, if so
 be that the King would take any voyage in hand against the,
 as euery man hopeth that he will do, or if so be that he would
 attend vntil that they should assaile vs at home, as it is to be fea-
 red that they will doe, if that our Lord GOD doe not put to
 his helping hand, which were a thing very needfull for vs: as for
 vs to thinke that we could resist them with our accustomed
 manner of warre, we should deceiue our selues, seeing they do
 farre excell vs in power & discipline, and except we do refozme
 our naughty manner of liuing, it were nothing, for euery man
 knoweth that they are the iust scourge of God, by whome he
 will punish vs for the grieuous faults which we do commit.
 But this amendment will be found to be a hard matter with
 those that are accustomed to liue at their owne pleasures, and
 yet it is nothing else but the custome that we haue taken in it:
 notwithstanding the first is easie, if so be that we would take a
 little paines in it, and the last is not impossible, if that we would
 imitate the Lord Camille Vrsin, who hath so well amended and
 reformed the Italyans that are vnder his charge, for the Vene-
 tians in Slauony (whose manner of liuing before was too ma-
 nifest corrupt, as it is well knowne that of all the nations that
 do haunt the warres, there is none so exceeding vitious as the
 Italyans are commonly) that of such as I say they were, he
 hath brought them into so good order, that the worst amongst
 them may be compared with any of the best religious that we
 haue in our Monasteries. And to say truth it is þ miracle of our
 time, for both the act which he hath done, and the victories they
 haue gotten, may rightly be tearmed to be wonders. I do say
 that our men are neither of Steele nor stone more then his were,
 but that they may be brought vnto a maner of good life aswell as
 they, so that we had another Camille amongst vs, or that the
 Captains who should haue the charge of these men, would do
 their indeuour to imitate him as nere as they might, and for
 this

this cause haue I made mention of him in this place, as also to shew that it would not be impossible to refoyme a great many of our souldiers, to w^et, those that are least hurtfull, so that euery one of the Chieffes would first refoyme himselte for his owne part, and mozeouer did proceed in his busines for another and better intent, then they do that go to the warres at this day. But I now go without my bounds, and in stead of dispatching, do intangle my selfe further then euer before, and do borowe a new occasion for euill speakers to reprove me, specially for that I do speake of matters at my owne pleasure, willing this and that to be done, as if it were in me to appoint, or that I were better then other men, which I am not, and therefore it is the worst: wherefore not to detaine you longer with words, nor to weery you with rehearsals, which I do feare more, then the tongs of those that would cut me through, I wil take my hand from this worke for it is time, besteching you my Lord Constable to take my defence in hand against those that will after diuers manners controule this Booke, and will make their laughing stock of it in your presence, reproving here one thing, and there another, as the most part of people do at this day wh^e as any new thing doth light into their hands, chiefly if it do come from the forge of any one that is of their acquaintance, or of their profession, as I am sure that more then foure that are about you will do, who would be very sorry, if they should not speake their rablement rather in euill part then in good, if there should be any of these of whome I speake, I appeale from their iudgement from henceforth, and at this instant vnto you, for to mainteine my right, I do cast in their teethes the honest desire p I long time haue had to do or to wright somewhat p might please you, which hath moued me to take this matter in hand, as a thing most agreeable vnto you: and therfore sith it is you who haue caused me to take this worke in hand, there is no reason that you should excuse me of the fault that I haue committed in it, or contrarily, that I should defende mine innocencie against all those find faults that would wrongfully reprove me, whome it shall please you to forbidde, not to enter into the reading of thys worke for to dispute, nor to correcte

my sayings, except they haue written better of this matter then I haue done, or that you do esteeme them to be of the number of those that haue perfect knowledge in militarie discipline, for I do consent and permit all those with a good will to repproue me freely, and to teare out at their pleasure all that they do finde to be ill penned, and contrary vnto their opinion: and it shall be so farre from me to be displeased for any thing that they shall blot or teare out of the booke, were it a great part or all, as if I might knowe their names, I would giue them thanks, and also accoumpt my selfe to be greatly beholding vnto them for the honour they had done me, in declaring their opinions vpon a matter of so small balew. As for the others which do not vnderstand it better then I, or that would iudge of enuy, I do hold them for suspected, aswell for their insufficiency, as also for that peraduenture I haue pricked the in some place, for which cause they might haue a desire to reuenge if that they might find any small occasion. It may be also that some may be euill contented, because that I haue spoken against aduentures, in blaming their leuy, and also their manner of life, yet I do thinke I haue done well, and whether I haue repproued them iustly or no, I do referre me vnto your iudgement, who knowes of what valewe they are, and who is not to learne now what fault he doth commit that doth serue himselfe with them, and shall do, vntill such time as there be a leuy of people made in Fraunce, according vnto a true election, with whome a Lieutenant Generall might serue himselfe euery way better, then with others. But how should you my Lord make our aduenturers to carry more harnesse then they are accustomed, and to carry victuals at their backs, and tooles to rampare withall, sith they are so nyce, as to make their Pages (when they are ranged in battaile) to carry their Pikes, or Harquebusse, or their comon garmēt to be lighter, & sometime do breake their Pikes to be excused frō carping the, & had rather cast their harnes into a ditch, then to lade their persons. When can you put into their heads y they ought ordinarily to do the duties of Pioners, sith at a need they will do nothing, but driue away those y do rampare of their own free wils. If in a great number there were one found, they do despise him,
and

and flye from him as they would do from one that were excommunicated or infected, and despise him as we do vaine and ydle men. How will you keepe them euery day certaine houres in armes for to exercise them in fayned battailes, for to bee better serued of them at the combat, then if they had not been exercised: such that if there bee question that they should watch but once in fiftene daies, or should be sent but vnto one extraordinarie seruice once in a moneth, they will murmur against you, saying that they are ouercharged, and that it is for brudges to do the seruice they do. I speake nothing of the braver sort, who disdain to be found at such like seruices, because they can renounce God more outragiously then others, or for that they are more richly clad. How will you bring them to vse any extreame diligence on foote, that onely for marching of one mile, they must mount on horsebacke at the departing from their lodging: so that a small band of footmen at this present do carrie as great a trauell of horses, as a great companie of horsemen were wont to do: or if they do any diligence on foote, they must haue more intreaties and perswasions, then I could resiste in a whole day. And sometimes they must be vled with threating and force, so that I may say, that all the good that they do, if peradventure they do any, is by force, and that they neuer make warre of their free-will. When will they abstaine from play, from whores, and from blaspheming, and from committing those insolencies which they do euery day, aswell against friend, as against enemies? Or for to keepe them from it, how great a labour should you haue, and how many men should you put to death? how will it be possible to reduce them to that manner of life, that a plumtree laden with plummets, being within one of the Campes that wee do make, might be found after that wee are dislodged, undiminished, without any man laying hand vpon it (as we do reade in times past hath been) when as the very sacred things are not sure in Churches, for that they pill all, nor the things of those that lodge together is not quiet: for they robbe one from another he that best may best. Shall I make mention of the countrie where they passe, such it were as good to bee consumed

with fire, as to abide the passage of this people, for that they leave neither risse nor rasse, but do force, and murder as well the women as the men they can lay hold vpon. I say in summe, that it is a sort of people that are not to bee corrected, who so shall looke well into them, so that there is neither Captaine nor other that can deale with them: for if a Captaine would take away their libertie from doing euill, they will say that he reapeth some profite vnder hand: if he repproue them, they do the worse, or they abandon him: if he punish them, they mutin, and sometimes reuenge vpon his person. But how will they amend for him, when as a Captaine Generall himselfe, can hardly take order for it? Will they do any thing for that they are of their Captaines countrie? No, for they are not his subiects, no nor he knoweth not possible the tenth man but by sight: wherefore if they flye after that they haue done any offence, he shall not knowe in what place to finde them, for to punish them. And suppose that they must bee found, it is so that the Captaines must pursue them at their owne charges, which is not for their profite: for peradventure they shall spend their monie in vayne, for to do that which Justice is bound to do. And furthermore, do these Captaines thinke to make their men refraine by putting them to any shame, sith they are bozne and nursed without euer hauing learned any other thing then shame? What shall they promise them being at the wars, whereby their Souldiers may be enticed or bound with all reuerence to loue and feare them: sith that when as the warres are ended, they shall haue no more to do with them, and before the ende, one will go on the one side, and another on the other. Wherefore should Souldiers be obedient vnto their Captaines, if they knowe not one another? What others shall they take? Shall it be by our Lord, seeing they do deceiue him euery way, and blaspheme so cursedly? Shall it be by their parts of Paradise? and they haue no portion in it, forasmuch as they are full of iniustice, fornication, malice, wickednes, manslaughter, quarrels, fraude, euill courage, murmurers, detractors, haters of God, iniurious, proud, vaunters, inuenters of guilles, disobedient vnto father and mother, vnto the King,

and

and Superiours: without vnderstanding, except it be to do mischief, and all the rest that followeth: all which are banished from the sight of God, as the deuill is banished out of Paradise. Furthermore, I beleue that such people wil neuer keepe that which they haue promised in his name, whome they dispraise at all houres? How were it possible that they that dispraise God, should reuerence men? For it is so that those of whom I speake, do make lesse accompt of him then nothing, and not only they, but also the straunge Souldiers that the King doth keepe in his seruice, or the greatest part of them. What good order then may be taken in this matter? Certainly my Lord (you will answer me) none: but who would haue simple and plaine men, so that they were the Kings subiects, whom it were farre better to take into seruice, supposing that they were leuied, and chosen as appertaineth, albeit that they neuer had been at any seruice, and that they do come but from houlding of the plough; then those that had long time exercised the occupation of armes; although they be aswell experimented as they might be, so that they were otherwise ill conditioned: for that you shall finde that it is easier to make simple and newe men good Souldiers, then it is to bring the wicked to good waies, after that they are once gone astray. It is not then without cause, that I praise the leuie of those that may bee made good Souldiers with little difficultie, and that I crye against those which are so exceeding wicked, that there is not almost any remedie to amend them. And therefore it were not conuenient that my sayings should be dispraised nor condemned, if I haue spoken against the wicked: for my meaning was to prick them only, and no others: nor it were no reason that I should bee reprovued, although I haue blamed the manner that wee do vse in leuying Aduenturers: for I haue not done it before I had iustly praised: to weet, whether the Legionaries or the said voluntaries were better: nor before regard taken diligently vnto þe profite that may come of the one, & vnto the inconueniences and euils of which the others are commonly causers: for if I had made any comparison on mine owne side, I would neuer bee so rash, as to put it to iudgement as I do. But bee it that those that doe maintaine their part, should finde
mine

mine opinion euill, and the libertie I haue vsed in speaking: yet will I not therefore leaue to exhort al those that vse the warres, and doe delight to haue the title of Aduenturers, that they should chaunge for some other maner that should be better, then that which we haue handled heiherto: and that of euill liuers as we are, every man should bestowe his labour to become a man of good life: and if wee haue been inept in the seates of armes heretofore, let vs endeour to refoyme our selues hereafter in such sort, that the King seeing vs to bee well conditioned and perfect good Souldiers, may thinke himselfe happie: specially finding such Souldiers to be in his realme, that our enemies or neighbours who daylie raunsack vs, being aduertised of our valour, should make greater difficultie to moue warre against the sayd Lord to morrowe or next day, then they are accustomed: or to hold themselves at too high a price, if he had need of the ayd of his sayd neighbours, knowing how much we do excell them in vertue and discipline.

Here endeth the third, and last Booke.

FINIS.

THE PRACTISE of Fortification:

Wherein is shewed the manner of
fortifying in all sorts of scituations, with
the considerations to be vsed in delining,
and making of royal Frontiers, Skon-
ces, and reinforcing of ould
walled Townes.

*Compiled in a most easie, and compendious method,
by Paule Iue. Gent.*



Imprinted at London by Thomas Orwin, for Thomas
Man, and Toby Cooke. 1589.



To the Right Honorable Sir VVilliam
Brooke, of the most noble order of the Garter
Knight, Lord Cobham, Lord Warden of the
Cinque Ports, and their members, of her Maiesties
most honorable priuie Counsaile, and Lord Lieute-
nant of the Countie of Kent.

And vnto the Right Honorable Sir Frauncis Walsing-
ham Knight, principall Secretarie to her Maiestie, Chan-
celor of the Dutchie of Lancaster, and of her Highnesse
most honorable priuie Counsaile,



He manifold benefites that I
haue receiued at your Honors
hands, since my returne into
England, haue enforced me to
seeke some meanes whereby I
might make known my thank-
fulnes for the same. And finding nothing more a-
greeable vnto your Honorable cares in the seruice
of her Maiestie, wherein I might do you more hum-
ble seruice then in the practise of Fortification, ha-
uing had sight therein since the view taken by the
Marques Vitell, for the oppressing of the Lowe
Countries, with the yoke of Citadels, and exercise
sithence Don Johns departing from Bruxels vnto

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

Namure: which practise, although it be not so common amongst vs, (or of some thought altogether so necessary for vs) as for the nations whose countries do lie adioyning together, where an enemy may enter with a great number of horse & men vpon the sodaine: yet is the knowledge necessarie, that when the practise should bee put in execution in the seruice of her Maiestie, that perfection might be effected that might do her Highnesse seruice. And therefore I haue compiled this little treatise of the practise of Fortification, which I most humbly present vnto your Honors, beseeching you to receiue it as a most humble token of the desire I haue to do you seruice.

*Your Honors most humbly readie
at commaundement.*

Paule Iue.



The Practise of Fortification.

The necessary placing of a Forte.

The 1. Chapter.



The reason that moued men first to enclose their Cities and other habitations with walles, was, to be assured from enemies, and that a small number might defende themselues from the violence and opprressions of a great, wherein their first practise extended no farther then the preservation of priuate estates, vntill such time as it was considered, y not only perticuler places, but also the generall estate of a Kingdome, Province, or Countrey, might be defended, by placing of walled Townes, Castels, and Fortresses, vpon the edge and borders of the same; of such sufficient strength and greatnesse, as that in time of peace, they might be kept with a few men, and vpon a surmise of warre, receiue a greater number, by whome the enemye borderer should not only be anoyed in his Countrey, and hindered to enter vpon the lands of his neighbours so frontierd with any small power vpon the suddaine: but bringing any great army, be constrained not to passe the Fort without subduing it, for auoiding the great mischief he might receiue of so noysome an enemy left behinde him, which to inuade, would aske great charge, time, and trauell, besides the danger that might happen. In placing of which Fortresses, two things are chiefly to be considered of, the necessitie, and the situation: for as a Forte not placed where it were needefull, might scantely be accompted for frontier; so hauing no benefit of

The practise

the place it standeth in, it might hardly be reckoned for fortresse, so that the one must helpe the other to the best effect that may be.

A Fort therefore that shall serue for a frontier, must be set nere the walled Townes, Castels, and frontiers of the enemy borderer, or nere other places where an enemy may make any suddaine assembly of people in hys Countrey: hauing the way from thence commodious to enter vppon the lands of his neighbours, and the retreat good, and vppon the Seacoasts at Hauens and Roades, where a Flée of Ships may be harboured, and haue commodious landing: in which places, because the grounds may be of diuers natures for this purpose, I will shewe the manner of fortifying in all sorts of grounds, and the commodities and discommodities that a fort may haue of the place where it standeth in.

The manner of fortifying in all sorts of grounds, and the commodities and discommodities a Fort may haue of it scituation.

The 2. Chapter.



Who so shall fortifie in playne ground, may make the Fort he pretendeth of what forme or figure he will, and therefore he may with lesse compasse of wall enclose a moze superficies of ground, then where that scope may not be had. Also it may be the perfecter, because the angles that do happen in it, may be made the flatter or sharper. Moreouer the ground in plaines is good to make ramperts of, and easie for cariage, but where water water wanteth, the building is costly and chargeable, for that a Fort scituated in a dry playne, must haue deepe ditches, high walles, great bulwarks, large ramparts, and caualieros: besides, it must be great to lodge five or sixe thousand men, and haue great place in it for them to fight, ranked in battaile. It must also haue countermines, priue ditches, secret issuings out to defende the ditch, casemats in the ditch, covered

couered wayes round about it, and an argine or banke to em-
peache the approach, will require great garrison, much artille-
rie, powder, victuals, and other things necessarie for the kee-
ping and mainteining of it, is subiect to mynes and to caualie-
ros, may be surprised, skaled, battered, and assaulted on euery
side, and may be kept besieged with foits, men, horse, and ar-
tillerie.

Where water may be found, the fort may be the lesse, and
needeth not the ditches so deepe as in dry ground, for it will be
free from surprise, skale, and myning, and being battered the
assault will be troublesome, for that one man standing vpon
firme ground, may resist fise vpon a bidge, boat, floate, or such
like. Moreover, the fort standing neere vnto any riuer, may re-
ceiue great commodities of it for the byinging of things neces-
sarie vnto it, both for making and mainteining of it, and it may
haue the riuer turned into the ditch to skowe the ditch of any
thing that may be cast into it, and the same may also be kept by
with fluses within the fort to drowne the ground about it, and
in those lowe places which abound with water, an enemy can
hardly couer himselfe from the fort.

Betweene these two situations, there are diuers opinions
helde, some commending dry ditches, alleadging that by a dry
ditch a fort may receiue reliefe, the ruine that a batterie maketh
may be taken away, and any thing that an enemy may cast into
the ditch to fill it, may be burnt, & by the sallies that may be made
out of a dry ditch, an enemy may be charged in his trenches on
euery part, (which may serue the turne for a while) but these
consider not the counterscarpe being wonne, the benefit and vse
of the ditch will be taken away by the artillerie and harquebus-
serie of the enemy: nor that of those three meanes wherewith a
wall may be breached, to wit, the Cannon, myne, and mens
hands, water hindereth the putting in practise of two of them.
The discommodities that proceede of water, are these, in hoate
Countreys standing water engendreth infectiue ayres, and in
colde Countreys it freezeth that men, horse, and artillerie may
passe ouer.

In fortifying amongst hilles, make choise of those that are like piramides, or that haue no ground of equall height, with the superficies of their tops, more then the fort and the ditch will occupy, to the intent that from the Fort an enemy may be impeached the ascent of the hill. For which consideration, the fortifier shall be oftentimes constrained to make the Fort greater then it were needfull it should be, and oftentimes with great circuit of wall shall enclose but a small superficies of ground; but being so placed, it needeth no great place in it, nor royall defences, as great Bullwarks, Flanks, or Ramparts, because it will not be subiect vnto batterie, but will be assured through the valley and hanging of the hill, which will giue an enemy trouble in lodging, trenching, taking away the defences, batterie, and assault, and being myned, the effect might happen to little profit, for the inequality of the ground. Besides, if the defenders should charge their besiegers, the one quarter of the Campe could not succour, or be succoured of the other. Or if the defenders should be enforced to retire, they might do it with aduantage ynough, hauing most commonly a higher ground to repaire vnto, but when that choise may not be had, but that the superficies of the hill top be more then the Fort may occupy, then must he chose the higher part of the hill, placing the Fort, that so great part of it may enioy the benefit of the hanging of the hill as possible may, and toward the other part of the same, build as in a dry playne, for as part in respecte of the valley vnder it may enioy the benefite of the hilly scituation, so part in respect of the equalitie of the ground without it, vpon which an enemy may lodge, trenche, mine, batter, and assault (especially if the ground be broken with Spade, Pickaxe, and such like) is subiect to all those discomforts that a Fort scituated in a dry plaine.

A Fort scituated among Mountaines, can hardly be kept besieged with fortres, men, horse, and artillerie: but those fortres that are scituated vpon hills and mountaines are troublesome to make for the difficultie of bringing of stufte to the place, are subiect to surprize, suffer oftentimes great penurie of water, and oftentimes are troubled with great raynes, which seeking
issue,

issue, do cause ruine of their walles.

A Fort situated in a lake, needeth no great defences: as great bulwarks, ramparts, cavalieros, nor large flanks, because it is free from batterie and assault, but through the euill aire of the lake, it will oft times be besieged of it selfe. Besides, an enemy may easily besiege it, in placing Forts where it hath recourse to the land, and proceede on hys voyage, assuring himselfe that the Fort must come into his hands, for as it is hard to be aboyded; so it is to receiue succour, and able to do an enemy but little hurt.

Of Forts placed vppon small riuers, is sufficiently spoken before, and those that stand vpon great riuers, may partly be compared with those in lakes, but where they may be approached, their defences must be great, are free of the infectiue aire which the lake oft times p̄doeth, may better receiue succour, and giue an enemy great trauell in the assiege.

A Fort situated in the Sea, is not only free from batterie and assault, because the batterie that may be made at Sea is feeble, weake, and vncertayne, by reason of the Seas continuall motion; but also is free from besieging, not only for that those enemies are fewe that can put any great armye to Sea: but also because the Winde and Seas alteration is such, that an Assiege at Sea cannot be continued. Moreouer, it may be maintained with Merchant trade, and with it Shipping occuppe thyngs apperteyning to other men. But a Fort that standeth in the Sea cannot serue the land it standeth neere vnto for frontier, but at Sea only, because it may not put men and horse a shoare, and serue them for retreat.

A Fort that must serue for frontier vppon the Sea coast at hauens, roades, and such like landing places, must be set part within the Sea, or at least so neere vnto the Sea, that an enemy may make no Fort, Trench, or other couerture, how little so euer it be, to saue himselfe from the violence of the Fort betwixt the Sea and it, nor may vse any artillerie within one or two hundred paces on neither side of the porte, or hauen, to impeache y free entring and going out of Ships, and being so placed for the benefit it hath of the Sea, it may

be the greater, and both in time of warre and peace be kepte and defended with lesse number of men and pꝛouision: because it may be succoured at all times, and may serue it selfe with the commodities both of Sea and Land, and may serue for frontier vnto both, for that it may keepe shipping, men, and horse. And to besiege a Fort so placed, an enemy that dwelleth vpon the same mayne the Fort standeth, shall be enforced to haue two armyes, the one by Sea, and the other by Lande, and comming from any other part, shall be constrained to bring in so great an armye by Sea, as that may carry men, horse, artillerie, and other things, for the mainteyning of the armye, to put ashore, and yet must keepe the Seas also, but how hard a matter it is to lande an armye, and troublesome to continue an assiege at Sea, and of what valewe those Townes are that haue this scituation, Flushing, Rochell, and Ostende, do, and will beare witnessse, but the discommoditie that those Forts haue that stand by the Sea side where great ebbes do runne, is, they are subiect vnto surprize at lowe water.

The manner of the lynning out of a Fort, and the considerations to be vsed therein.

The 3. Chapter.



In the delineation of a Fort that shall serue for a royall frontier, the figure triangular is not to be vsed at all, nor the quadrant, but only in those watterie grounds where it can not be approached, neither is the cynqueangle to be chosen for any perfection that is in this figure, for this purpose (although that many good Forts are made in that forme of the Castell of Antwerpe, the citadell of Turync and others) but rather for sparing of charges

ges in building & mainteing the Fort, for the exterior angles of the bulwarks placed vpon the angles of those figures, do fall out sharpe, and therefore are weake to resist a batterie, and hard to be defended, but in other figures they become flatter, and the more bulwarks a Fort hath, from the more places it may trauell and offende an enemy; but then it will require the greater garrison, prouision, and artillerie, the more cost in making, and care in keeping. All which being considered, lyne out the Fort you pretend, if nothing do hinder the deliniation, nor that any part may be lesse approachable then other with equall sides and angles; but if any part may be better assured of the scituation then the rest, on that side lay out the longer sides and sharper angles, or both, to the intent the other part more easie to be approached, may be the more defenceable: yet here in there must be a foresight, that the Fort may fall out as circular as possible it may, and being constraind to fortifie neere any banke, or high ground, place a curten against it, and not a bulwarke, because a curten lying betwixt two flanks may be better defended then the front of a bulwarke from one, and that high ground more offended from the bulwarks on either side of it: but if the banke be so large that it woulde reache from the front of one bulwarke vnto another, then in no case build neere none so noysome a neighbour, for vppon such a high ground with little labour may be cauelieros rayled in short tyme, which with artillerie may commaunde ouer the Fort, and impeache the defence of a breache, notwithstanding any trauers that may be made, and finding any olde Fortresse subiecte to this mischiefe from whiche you woulde assure it, make on that parte the walles, ditches, ramparts, bulwarks, cauelieros, and parapetes, deeper, higher, and larger, then of custome, laying the superficies of the rampart hanging somewhat inwarde. The Citie of Gaunt being subiect to such a high ground that lay hard vnto the ditch side thereof, by the aduise of the foresight, the Prince of Orange fell to worke, with spade, pickaxe, horse, cart, & willing people, and in short time rebated the pride of it, carying away parte into a balley, and bringing parte into the Citie, making

of it bulwarks, ramparts, raveliers, parapets, and the rest, so y^e that ground which first commaunded the Citie, was afterward made subiect, the Citie commaunding it: but these like labors may be practised where necessitie enforceth, but not where free choise may be vsed for auoiding of superfluous charges, time, trauell, and anoyance.

But to returne to the practife of the deliniation, being vppon the ground to be fortified, take good viewe where it were necessarie the bulwarks which are the chiefest and royalest defences should be placed, (which must be where they may domayne and commaund ouer the ancomings to the Fort, be as hard to be approached, and as little subiect to batterie or other offence, as the place wyll permit.) And where you determine to place a Bulwarke, there set downe a stake, and stretch a lyne betwixt stake and stake, and with a Spade make a little cut alongst the lyne, as is scene in the figure where these let-

ters A. B. C. D.

E. F. do represent

the stakes, and the

lynes the brea-

king of y^e ground.

Well vnderstood,

that these stakes

tearmed y^e angles

of the meeting of

two curtains, or

y^e interio^r angles

of the Bulwarks

may not stand far-

ther distant then

200. paces, or

1000. foote, at five foote every pace, and the reason heere-

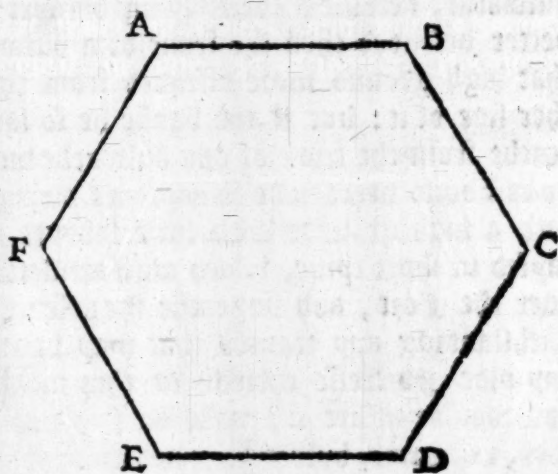
of is, that the exterior angle of the Bulwarks placed vppon

these angles, woulde stande too farre from the flankes,

from whiche they shoulde bee defended, neyther is there

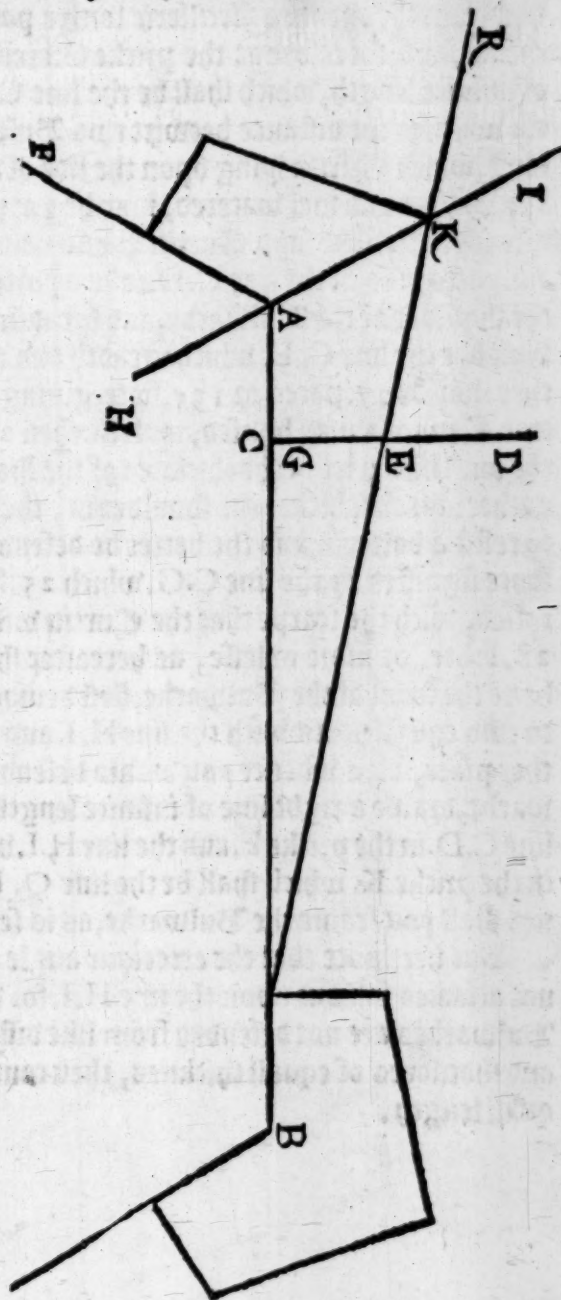
anye greate reason to set them so farre asunder, for the

greatest



greatest force of the Cannon, is within an hundred paces, but in consideration that the rampart which an enemye approaching the front of a Bulwarke, maye make to defende himselfe from the Artillarie in the flank, may bee but loose earth, & therefore the lesse able to resist a shot, it may bee placed the further of.

The circuit of the fort being laide out to fashion out the Bulwarks proportionall & defensiuve to the same, take the one angle of the figure before going, which shall bee the angle F. A. B. imaginings it to bee placed in a drye plaine, and frame vppon it one Bulwarke, in which all the defences necessarie vnto a Fozte maye bee shewed, which you shall doe in this maner. First vpon the line A. B. take 165. foote, or 33. paces (at 5. foot euery pace) for the length of the Bulwarke, which is the line A. C. whiche length must bee ta-

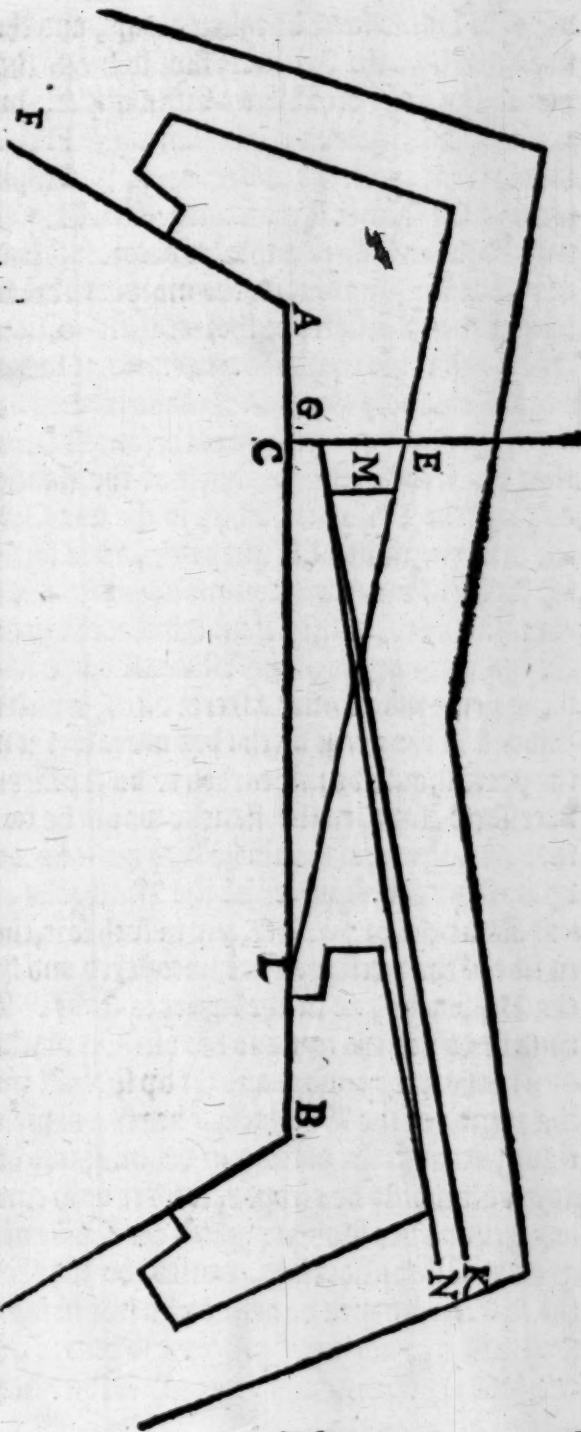


ken with this consideration, that vnto euery place in the flanke where you pretend to vse Artillerie, you must giue 50. footz at the least for the recoyle of a Cannon, and defend the same Cannon from the enemies Artillerie with a parapet of 25. or 30. foot thicke, and therefore at the picke C. erect a perpendicular line of infinite length, which shall be the line C.D. (so shall the Curtin which is the distance betwixt two Bulwarke be 134. paces long, which Curtin lying vpon the side of a towne difficult to bee approached and wel watered, may be 12. paces longer; but in a drie situation the sayd Curtin should neuer be so long by 12. or 16. paces) and of the line C.D. take a portion for the thickness of the shoulder of the Bulwarke, and breadth of the flanke, which shall bee the line C.E. which breadth and thickness of both together may be 27. paces or 135. foote, giuing vnto a flanke, where two Cannons may be vled, not lesse then 25. foot, nor moze then the one third part of the thickness of the shoulder and flanke together: for the thicker the shoulder is, the longer it shall be able to resist a batterie, and the better be defended: wherfoze take 25. foote signified by the line C.G. which 25. foote (the flanke being raised, with the scarpe that the Curtin will make may bee some 28. foote, or moze or lesse, as hereafter shalbe shewed.) And to haue the front of the Bulwarke, first deuide the angle F.A.B. into two equall parts with the line H.I. and from the flanke or other place, from whence you would defend the front of the Bulwarke, drawe a right line of infinite length, which must cut the line C.D. in the picke E. and the line H.I. where it happeneth, as in the picke K. which shall be the line Q.R. and after this manner shall you frame the Bulwarke, as is seene in the figure.

But here note that the exterior angle of the Bulwarke will not alwaies fall out vpon the line H.I. for when the fronts of the Bulwarke are not defended from like distances and the flanks and shoulders of equall thickness, then cannot the fronts be of equall length.

More.

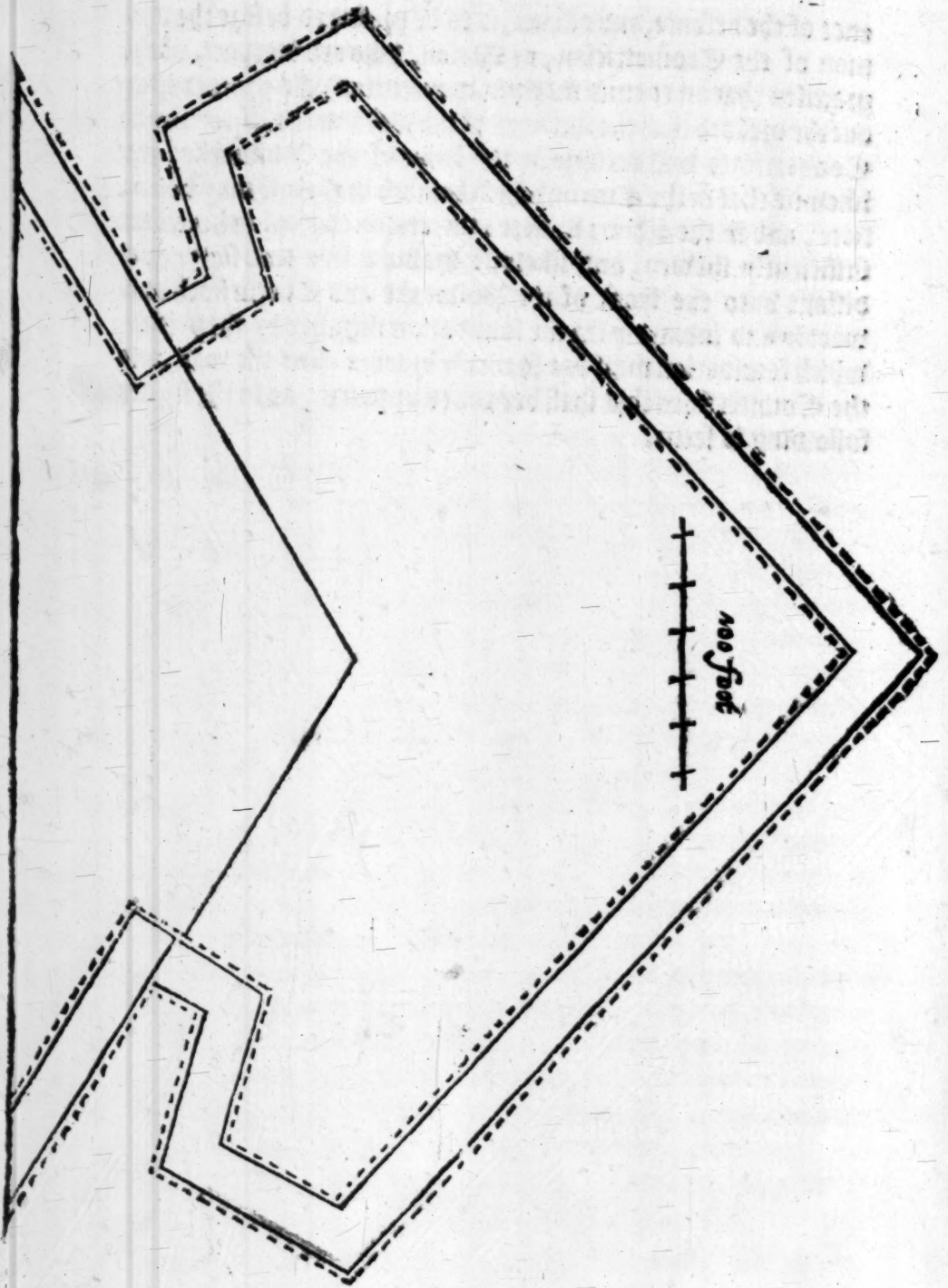
Moreover, note that the custome is to line out the front of a Bulwarke precisely frō the angle of the flank which doth defend it, but for that precisenes there is no great reason: for the front of such a Bulwarke being battered, an enemy may assure himself in þ breach from the Artillerie in the flanke, and therefore to enforce him to make þ deeper breach, and the better to defend the fronte of the Bulwarke, it were better to line it frō the picke L. somewhat distant from the flanke: but not so farre distant but that the artillerie which shoulde scoure the front of þ one Bulwarke might lye couered in the other Bulwarke: for if the Artillerie should lie open that it might bee beaten in face and side, the



use of it would soone be taken away, and the better to couer the flank where the Artillerie should lye, to the intent to giue an enemye the moze trouble to dismount it, was an Orechion or Cullion inuented (as the Italians and Frenchmen do terme it) which we may terme to bee eares, wings, or finnes, such as is seene in the former figure marked M. Which cullion or orechion may be made longer & shorter according to the will of the workman, but the longer it is, the moze couered wil the flank be: but longer then 80. foote, or shorter then 60. foote in so royall a fortresse, as in this worke is pretended, it were not necessarie. The outside of which orechion must be framed vpon the line that formeth the front of the Bulwarke, and the inside vpon a line stretched from the exterior angle of the flank vnto the exterior angle of the Bulwarke, which is the line G. M. or from the angle G; vnto the middest of the ditch, as is seene by the lines G. K. for these customes are commonly obserued. In waterie ditches, the inside of the cullion standeth that the peece next it may scoure the exterior angle of the Bulwarke: and in a drie ditch, that the same peece may scoure a secret ditch, which must be made in the middest of the great ditch: but narrower it may not be, for then the peece should be impeached to do it office: & wider it were not necessarie, for then the flank would be too open: and the ditch in waterie ground would be layd out 100. or 120. foote broad, or vppward at the shoulder of the Bulwarke, and in drie ground not about 60. or 70. foote, and in such sort, that the counterscarpe or side of the ditch may bee vncouered and lye wholly open vnto the Bulwarke, as in the figure is seene. And when you haue thus lined out the fort and his ditch, & marked vpon the ground where the lines runne, and set vp speciall markes or stakes, for the angles of the Bulwarke begin a newe reuiew, to see if any thing, either in the placing or delining might be amended. For if any fault should be escaped, it were now time to amend it before any ground bee broken: which the Duke of Alua and the Marques Vitell considering, caused the Castle of Antwerpe after the first marking to be delined a newe in many parts, correcting their first escaped negligences and errors. (Here note, that in this busines the opinion of the Souldier who hath had experience

ence of the defence, and offence, is to be preferred before the opinion of the Geometrician, or Mason, who are inept, of the practises that an enemy may put in execution) To proceede, lay out the breadth that the thickness of the wal and the Espérons or Counterforts will occupie in the front of the Bulwarke, and likewise that in the Curtin: which breadth in the one may be 23. foote, and in the other 18. foote: the reason thereof is hereafter sufficiently shewed, and likewise drawe a line two foote equidistant unto the front of the Bulwarke and Curtin both outwardly and inwardly for the foundation signified by the prick, which foundation must bee so much broader then the wall, and the Counterforts that shall bee raised vpon it, as in the figure following is scene.

Cr.

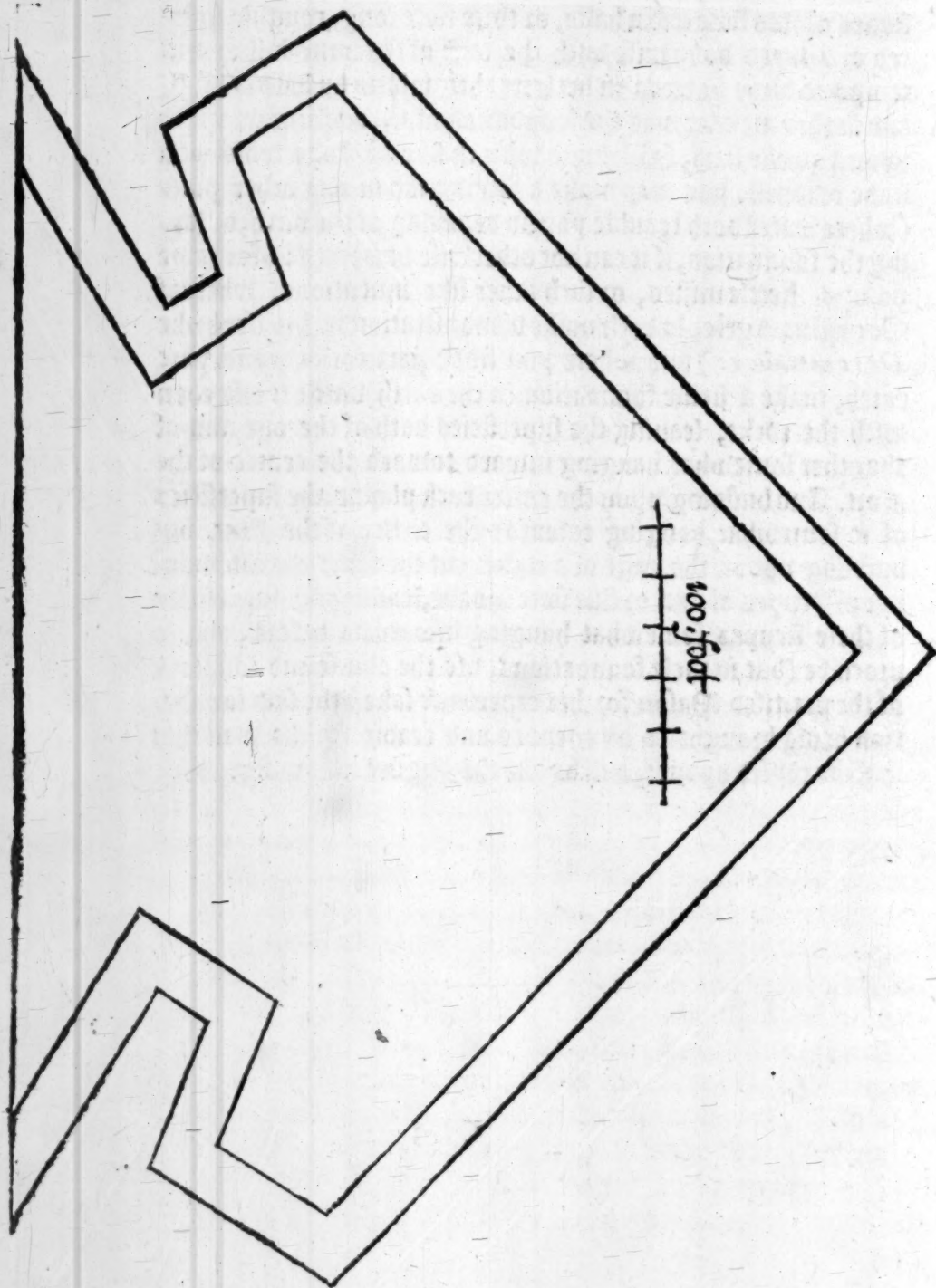


The foundation, ditch, secrete ditch, and
countermine.

Having layd out the superficies that the Fort will occupie, begin to breake ground, bringing the earth inward into the Fort, to rampier withal, foreseeing as much as may bee to auoyd the superfluous charges of oft remouing it, and when you haue digged seauen or eight fote deeper then you pretend to make the ditch (or more or lesse according to the goodnes of the ground, lay the superficies of that bottome somewhat hanging inward toward the center of the Fort, and worke your foundation, as hereafter shalbe shewed) the depth of which ditch in drie ground may bee 30. or 40. fote, and more, according to the cost that will bee bestowed, besides the depth of the secrete ditch which may be made in the great ditch to ease the charge of the building, which also may be 20. fote broad, and 10. or 12. fote deepe: for the chiefest strength in a Fort that standeth drie is the depth of the ditch: for the deeper the ditch is, the more trouble it giueth an enemy in cutting the Counterscarpe, and in myning the better it will receiue the ruine of a breach, and maketh the assault more difficill: but where water aboundeth, that depth cannot be had, neither were it altogether necessarie, but there 10. or 12. fote vnder the superficies of the water, or more or lesse as the water will permit, is to bee thought a great depth, but then it must bee the broader, as 100. or 120. fote, as is before shewed, where the other neede not be aboue 60. or 70. fote: and the reason of this breadth in the one is, that an enemy may bee the more troubled to abourd the Fort: and of that narrownes in the other, that he may bee the more offended in the approaching and cutting the Counterscarpe, and that the defenders may be the more couered in the ditch. But when by this ditch and secrete ditch a Fort cannot bee assured from the mine, which an enemy may put in practise, then must a countermine be made, which countermine of some hath been made to little effect vpon the foundation within the Fort. But of others with-

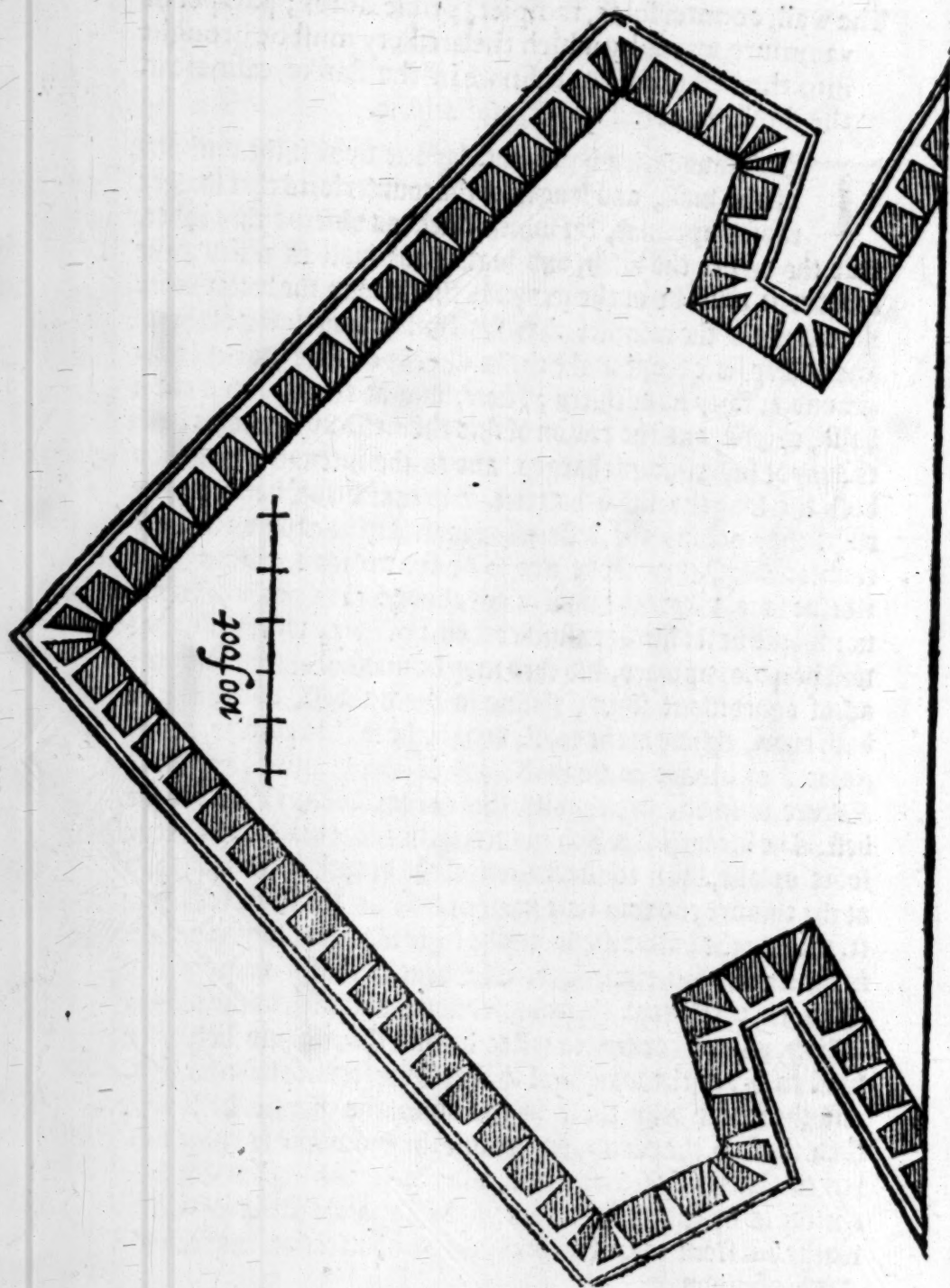
out in the ditch hard against the foundation to better purpose, but that it weakeneth the foote of the wall: wherefore to auoyd that daunger, make the countermin 25. or 30. foot distant from the wall, and so deepe in the ground, as an enemy may go with a mine. Which countermin must be 4. foote broad, and 6. or 7. foote high, and must haue vents made in the top of it, whereby it may receiue light: and the best way into it, were some 40. foote distant from the Bulwarke Direction or Cullion, as shall bee shewed hereafter, that it may be vled not troubling or impeaching the Bulwarke, nor impeached by it: but in the worke it must bee the last thing performed, when the ditch is emptied. But for the foundation of a Fort, if the same be to be made in a fenne, marish, or other such like grounds, which of themselves are not able to beare the waight of the wall and rampier that shall be raised vpon them; lay a trauers of trees in the bottome of the foundation of Dkes, or other wood, which will longest continue good in the earth, laying them thwart wise in the worke the one fast and close shut to the other, and hanging somewhat inward toward the center of the Fort. And where this foundation is not thought to be sufficient, there driue in piles, the one halfe a foote distant from the other, or more or lesse as shall bee needfull, first driuing in one pile as farre as it may go, and by the deapth of that one pile in the ground fit the length of all the other, which piles being driuen euen with the ground, pare away the earth betwixt the pile heads some halfe a foote deepe or more, and in stead of that earth so pared away ramme in stones with a rammer, and vpon those pile heads lay a trauers of trees, as before, and vpon that trauers, begin your foundation of stone, which must rise both outwardly and inwardly two foote broader then the wall, with the Esperons or Counterforts that shall be raised vpon it, and halfe a foote higher then the bottome of the ditch, to the intent it might the better support the waight of the wall and rampier that shall be layd vpon it. But where you finde quicke sands, quages, and such like, there must you not worke much of the foundation at once, least the quages maister you: and the fittest stuffe for such a foundation is great chalke stones

stones of two foote and a halfe, or three foote long, roughly squared and layed bond wise with the dust of the lyme-kill or vntempered lyme powred in betwixt their ioynts by baskets full, and in this manner was the foundation of Graueling wrought vpon a quicke sand, so likewise with chalke or stone which you finde readiest, you may make a foundation in any other place (where water doth trouble you, in depening of the ditch, or laying the foundation, if it can not otherwise be voided: vse chaine pomps, kettle milles, or such other like inuentions, whereof Georgius Agricola doth make demonstration in his sixt booke *De re metalica*:-) and where you finde part rocks, and part earth, make a firme foundation in the earth vntill it rise euen with the rocke, leauing the superficies both of the one and of the other somewhat hanging inward toward the centre of the Fort. And building vpon the entire rock playne, the superficies of it somewhat hanging toward the centre of the Fort, but building vpon the edge of a rocke, cut the same edge in manner of steppes of four or five foote broade, leauing the superficies of these steppes somewhat hanging inward as before, and so procede (but in these foundations, vse the aduise and counsaile of the practised Mason for his experience sake) the said foundation being brought to an euennes and readie for the wall that shall be rayled vpon it, will be like the Figure following.



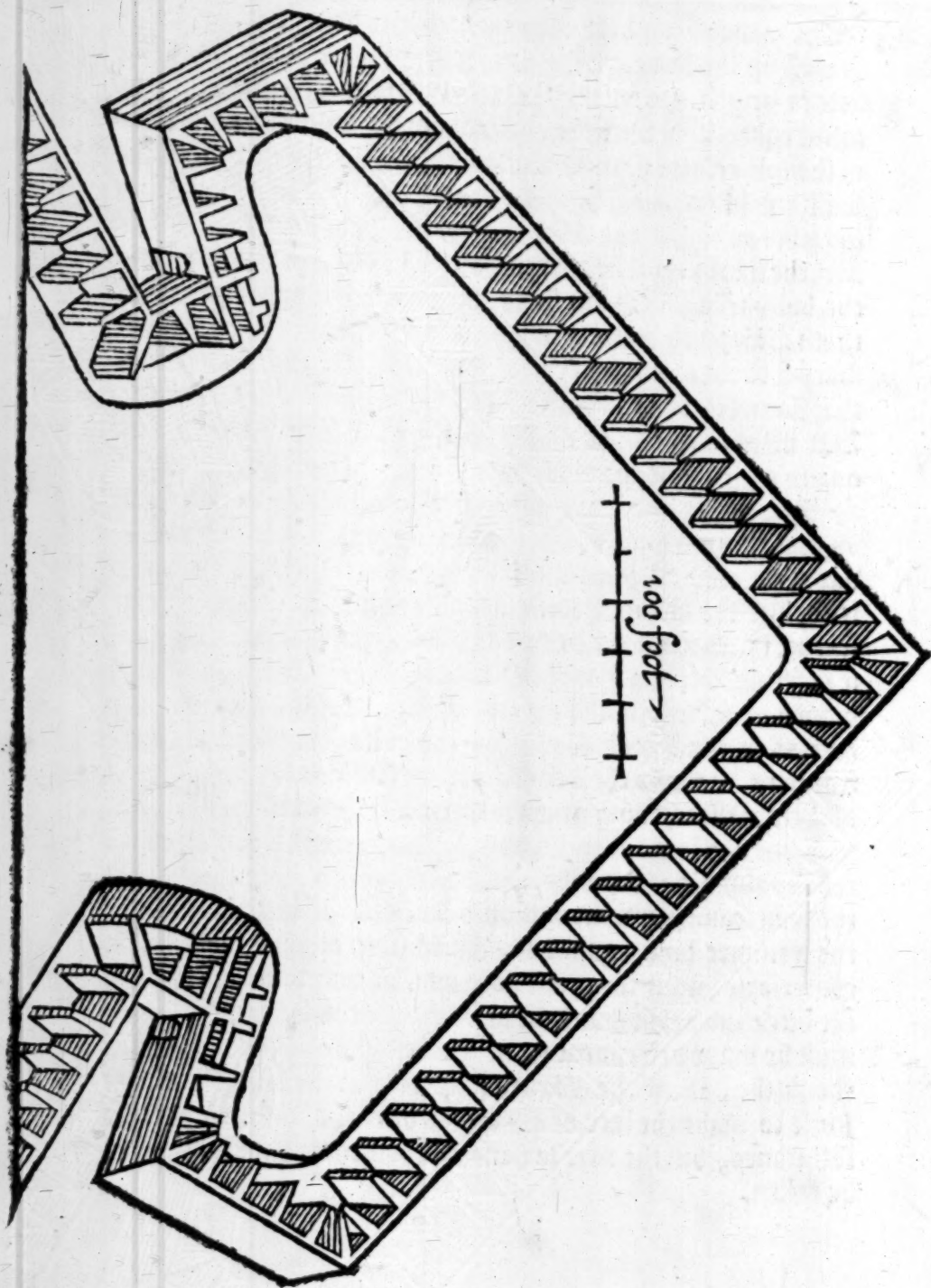
The wall, counterforts, rampier, priuie dores, parapet or vammure, wayes by which the artillery must be brought into the first place, or casmate in the flanke, casmate in the ditch, couered wayes, and argine.

TH E foundation layde out, lay out vpon it the thicknes of the wall, and length of the counterforts that shall be rayled vpon it, for which thicknes obserue this order, that the deeper the ditch, and higher the wall is raised, the broader it must be at the ground, that it may the better beare the waight of the rampier that shall be layde against it: wherefore at fifty foote deepe make the wall 5. or 6. foote broade at the ground, at forty 4. at thirty 3. foote, and at twenty, two and a halfe, or lesse, and the reason of this thinnesse vpwads, is both to auoyde superfluous charges, and to the intent the wall may both the longer resist a batterie, and that being battered, the ruine may occupy the lesse place in the ditch. And as for the counterforts, they neede not to be set neerer together then twelue foote, where the wall is not aboue 25. or 30. foote deepe, nor would be set further asunder then 10. foote, where the wall will be 40. or vpwad, and they may be made of diuers formes: as of equedistant sides, thinne in the middelt, and thicke at both ends, thinne at the wall, and thicke in the rampier, triangular, or broade at the wall, and thinne behinde, as in the Figure is seene, which with those of equedistant sides are the best. The breadth of which counterforts at the wall may be four foote or lesse, with consideration of the deapth of the wall, and at the thinner end two foote moze or lesse as the stufte will giue it, those in the bulwarke would be eightene foote long, and those in the curtine fouretene foote. The benefit that a Fort hath of them, is, they keepe the rampier firme against a batterie from falling, giue an enemy trauell to breake them, and helpe the wall to beare the waight of the earth wherewith it is charged, and the reason why those in the bulwarke should be longer then those in the curtin, is, because the bulwarke is moze subiect to a batterie then a curtine, and not so well defended, for a curtine is defended from two flanks, and the front of a bulwarke but from one, of all which, is demonstration made in the Figure following.

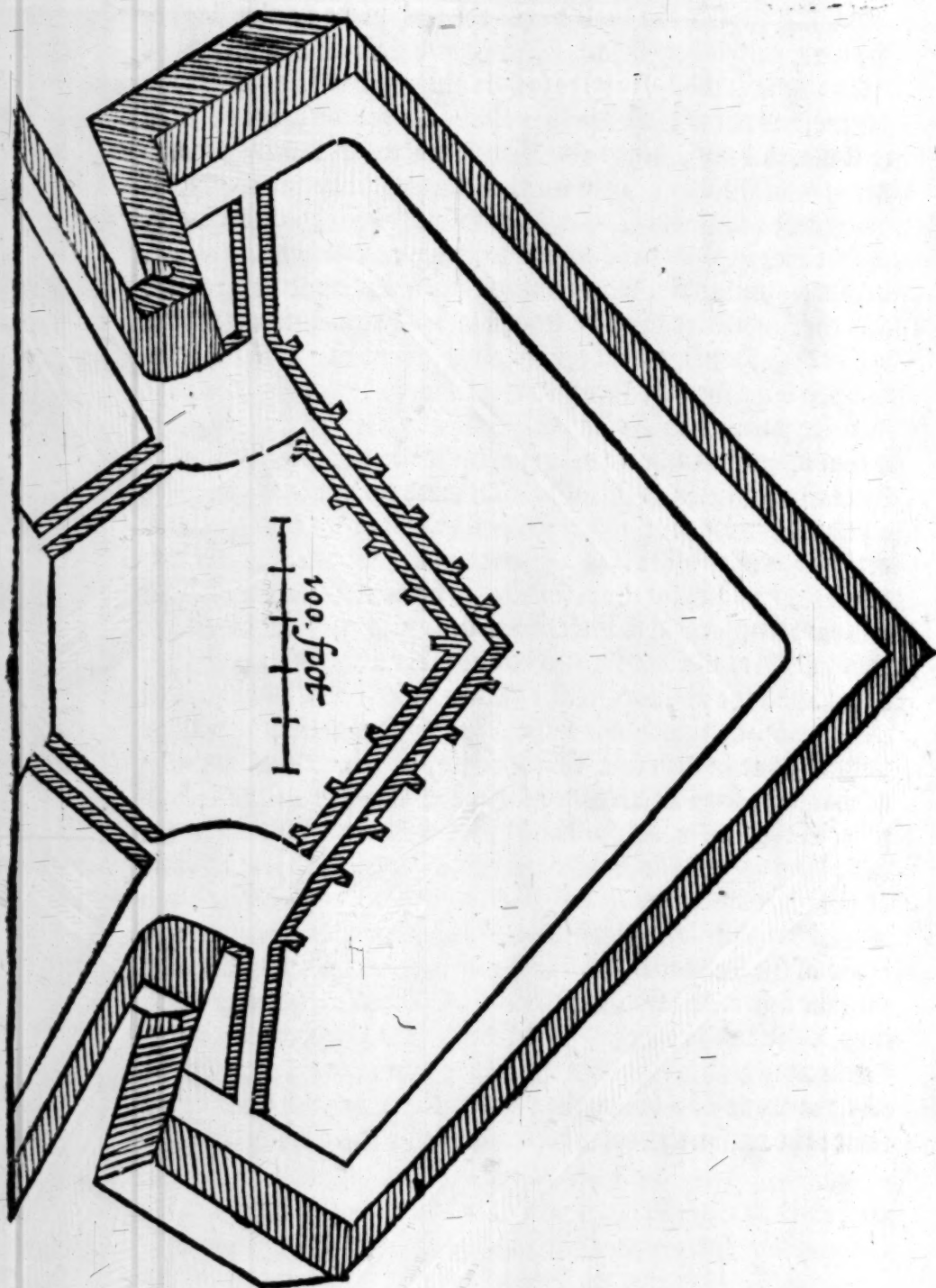


The wall and it esperons or counterforts being laid out, begin to raise by the same, giuing vnto it in euery eight, nine, or tenne foote in heighth, one foote of scarpe, battering, or comming in, the inside equedistant vnto the outside, and the inner ends and sides of the conterforts plumbe working them by together with the wall, and filling them with good earth well beaten and rammed together as the worke riseth, and likewise the side of the cullion next the flanke must be plumbe, and when the exterior angle of the bulwarke falleth out sharp, then make the vpper part of it, that is subiect to batterie flat, or round, leauing the vnder part sharpe, to the intent an enemy may not stand, couered behinde, that flatnesse, or roundnesse from the artillerie in the flanke. But heere maruell not that I speake of so little scarpe, as of one in eight, nine, or tenne foote, other befoze hauing put in practise, one in foure, and one in fīue foote, holding opinion that by that scarpe a wall should the longer stand against a batterie, but their reasons to proue it are not great, and the effect is lesse, but the discommoditie a wall receiueth of that so greate scarpe, is, that oft times throught the great waight of the top, it loseth it foote and shooteth (besides the weather hath the more power of it, which also in fewe yeares causeth it ruyne) and heereof in the Lowe Countrey are sufficient proofes in the frontiers, made by the late Emperour Charles the fifth, diuers of their walles hauing giuen way two or thre hundred foote at once, but one foote in eight, nine, or tenne, the inside of the wall raised equidistant vnto the outside, is giuen to the intent that the wall leaning inwards, should the better resist the waight of the rampire layd against it. In raising of this wall and it conterforts, must the priue doze, and the way vnto it, by which the ditch and argin should be defended, be thought vpon, which must be made descendent from the first place in the flanke into the ditche, as in the Figure following is scene. The fittest stufte to make the face of a Fort, is bricke, and such other like soft stones, but the next to hand and best cheape must alwayes be taken.

Do.



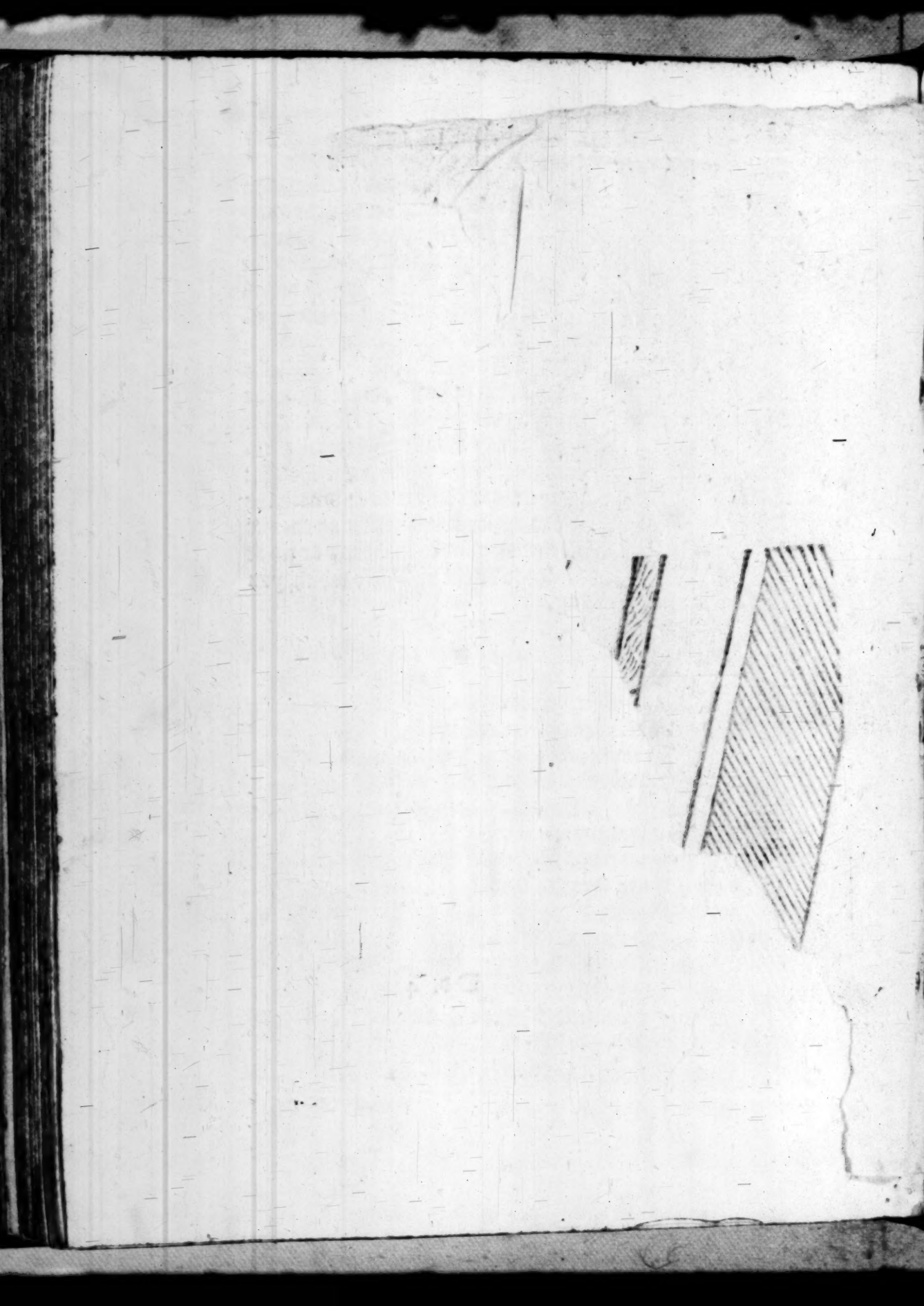
Having rayfed the wall vntill the first place in the flanke, coꝛdone, oꝛ full heighth (and filled it with good earth well beaten and rammed) which heighth may be fiue oꝛ fixe foote aboue the argine, and tenne oꝛ eleuen foote aboue the counterscarpe oꝛ leuell it standeth vpon, make the Foꝛt defenceable, rayling a parapet oꝛ bammure vppon the front of the bulwarke and curtine, of good earth of tenne foote thicke, the inside foure foote and a halfe, oꝛ fiue foote high, and the outside thꝛée foote and a halfe, oꝛ moꝛe, because it will settle, which outside and inside must be of turfe, and the superficies must be beaten and layde hanging towarde the ditch in such foꝛt, that the couerd way and counterscarp may be open vnto the defenders from the inner edge of the parapet: but the parapet in the flanke would be 25. oꝛ 30. foote thicke, & that vpon the cullion 20. foot at the least: the reason thereof is hēereafter sufficiently shewed. Afterward draw a lyne 50. foote equidistant vnto the parapet in the flanke foꝛ the requoyle of the artillery, and another lyne 15. foot equidistant vnto the parapet vpon the curtine, foꝛ the defenders to passe betwē the parapet and the rampier that is intended to be rayfed vpon the curtine at this said line, and from a picke 20. foote distant from the parapet vpon the shoulder of the bulwarke, extend a line towarde the exterior angle of the same, but not equidistant vnto the parapet, but in such foꝛt, that the rampier which shall be raised at that line, may be defended from the artillery in the second place of the flanke, as the front of the bulwarke was from the first. And vppon this slowꝛe also, oꝛ two oꝛ thꝛée foote vnder it, (to the intent they may lie the lower) would the slowꝛes and wayes foꝛ the passage of the artillery into the casemate and front of the bulwarke, and likewise that out of the one flanke into the other, be laide, which must be so broad, that any pēce may passe with ease: but that foꝛ the passage from flanke to flanke may be broader then the other, and layde out in forme like the front of a bulwarke: as in the Figure following is sēene: the reason thereof is hēereafter sufficiently shewed.



The parapet being raised vpon the Bulwarke and Curtin, to proceede to the full finishing of the Fort in this worke pretended, at the lines signified by the prickes in the figure before going, raise the rampart vnto the full height, which were necessarie to be 12. foote at the least higher then the wall, or first place for the Artillerie, and raise the wall in the inside of the Cullion, with the Esperons or Counterforts in it, (to beare the earth in the angle next the flanke) so high as it is intended the rampier shall be, but plumbe as the vnderworke is, but outward toward the Cullion let the same wall scarpe endwaies as the rampier doth: and raise also the walles of the waies for the passage of the Artillerie into the flankes, and front of the Bulwarke, which must be vaulted ouer, but must be layd as lowe as they may that they be not seene vnto the enemy. And as for the passage from one flanke vnto another, that may bee left vnuaulted, and the walles of it raised as high as the superficies of the rampier, and couered ouer with timber. At which may a retrenchment bee made when need requireth, and the same well flanked, as by the manner of the lining of it in the figure before going is to bee seene. The rampier must be raised scarping, battering, or coming in, for euery one foot of height one foot of scarpe: but that part toward the Cullion must be raised flatter then the rest, and that within the flanke or casemate need not to bee raised altogether so flat, and it must be of earth only without any faggot, that it may the better close and settle together. And the reason why this rampier is so high and farre distant from the edge of the wall, is, that the whole fortresse might from euery part of it the better offend an enemy, and as a cavalier commaund, and domayne ouer any thing an enemy might put in practise before it. And that also the wall being battered, this yet might stand defenceable for a retreat. (but note, that to ease the charge that the carrying of this great masse of earth would cost, the rampier vpon the Curtins need not to be raised so high as that vpon the Bulwarke: neither if the Fort do stand well watered need the face of the Curtin to be raised with brick or stone higher then three or foure foote aboue the water: but from thence v-

ward & rampier must be raised to his full height. These things may be done for sparing of charges, but perfection were better) Upon which rampier must a parapet be raised of 20. foot thicke vpon the Bulwarke, and ten foote vpon the Curtin: for this order would be obserued in the parapet. Where Artillerie is to be vsed of necessitie in a permanent place, as in a flanke, vpon a caualier, platforme, or Bulwarke; there almost no thicknes of parapet is to be thought sufficient, so that & place will permit it. But vpon a Curtin which is extended wide and broad, and may offend an enemy sometime from one place, & sometime from another, there needeth no such thicknes. And being enforced at any part to reenforce the parapet, it may there with lesse labour and anoyance be done, then vpon a Bulwarke. The superficies of the rampier must be so broad, that any peece may be vsed vpon it, and haue scope enough to recople. And the ascent vnto it must lye so flat that the defenders may runne by vpon it with ease, or plucke by a peece of Artillerie by hand at any place of it, and therefore it must be free of incombzaunces. Also the streetes of the Fort must runne all direct from the Bulwarke vnto the market place, and likewise from the middest of the Curtins. Which market place must be large 300. foote square, or little lesse. The gate of the Fort must be placed in the middest of the Curtin, that from the Bulwarke on both sides of it, it may be equally defended, and must be set so lowe, that the defenders may go out and in to the couered waies, to defend the argin, or sallie out, as little seene as may be. But the chiefest defence of the argin must be through the priue doores in the Cullion, passing the secrete ditch with a portable bridge, which may be lightly layed and taken away, ascending the Counterscarpe: which Counterscarpe may be left somewhat flat, and pared steeper as need requireth. The casemate in the ditch (for not onely the first place in the flanke is called casemate, but also any other edifice that may be made in the ditch to defend the ditch by) must be placed opposite to the exterior angle of the Bulwarke, betwixt it and the secrete ditch, and must be made full of holes to vse Harquebuzes and Pusket out at. And the walles of it must be so thinne, that being

being ruined , the ruine may make no great bodie in the ditch: and the way to man it, must be vnder ground, through the counter-
 mine, or by some other vault made for the purpose . The co-
 uered way round about the Fort must be ten foote broad , and the
 argin or banke so high that a man be not seene behind it : which
 may be sixe or seauen foote , and against it there must be steeppes
 made for the defenders to stand vpon to vse their armes ouer it,
 and to mount vpon it, when it shall be needfull. The superficies
 of the argin must be layd scarping, but in such sort that it may be
 scoured from the Fort, as in the figure following is seene. Here
 note, that as in a drie ground where an enemy may trench & co-
 uer himself from the fort, an argin & couered way, were thought
 necessarie, to giue him the more impeachment to approach the
 Counterscarpe : so in a lowe waterie ground where an enemy
 cannot couer himselfe , it were not good to make any argin at
 all: least you giue him the meane to do the mischief which, you
 would hinder him from doing.



of Fortification.

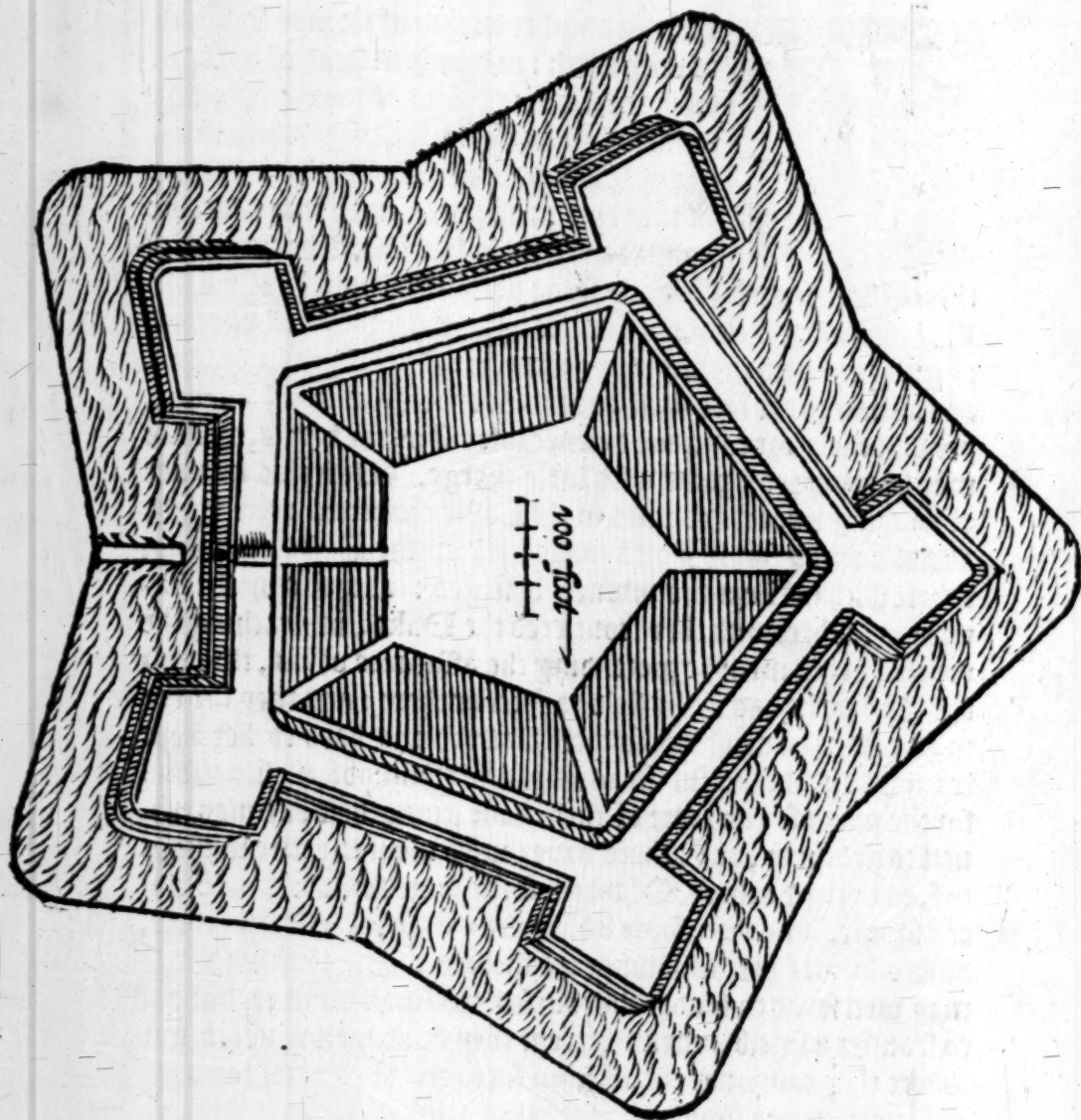
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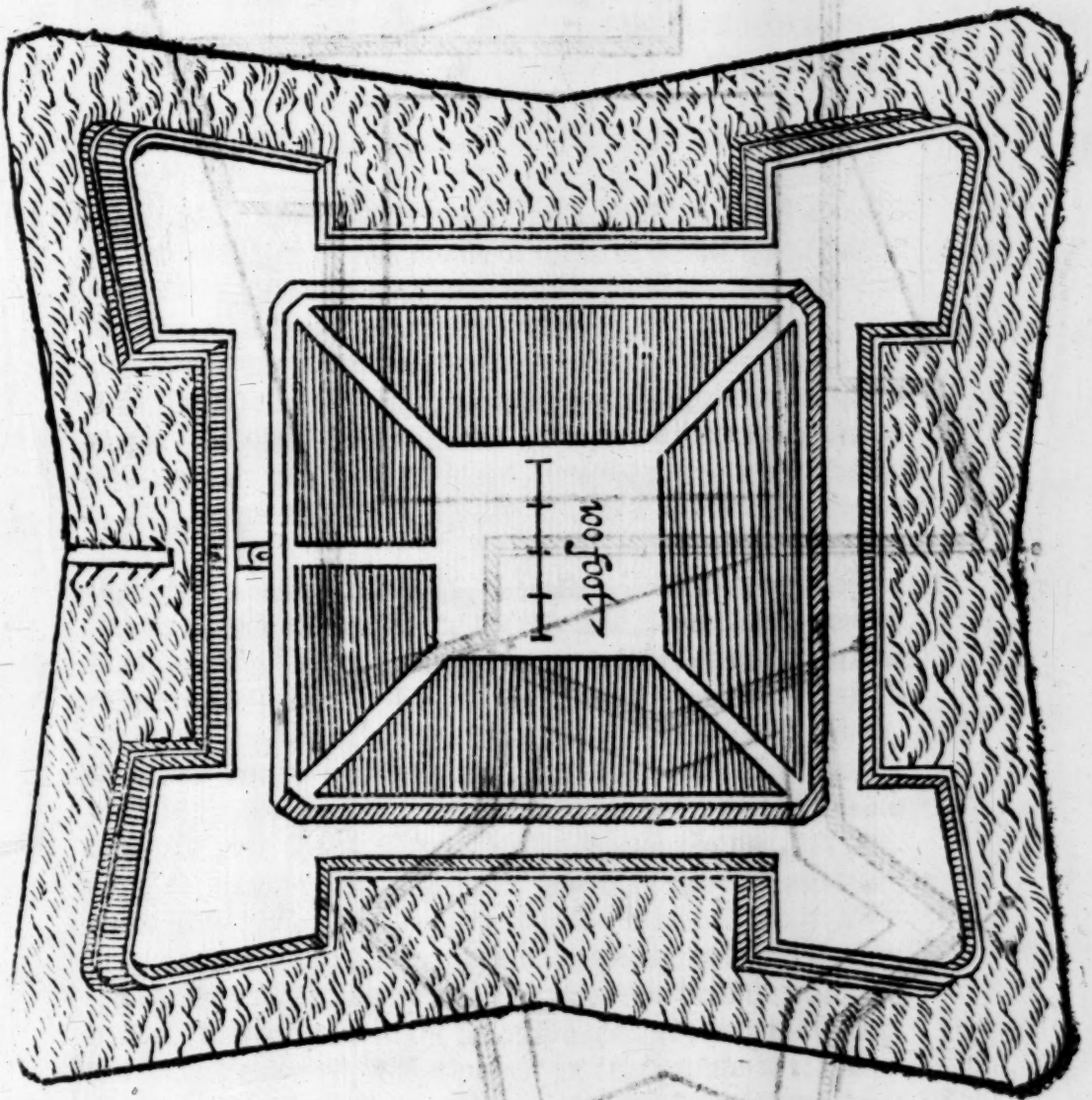
The manner of fortifying with earth.

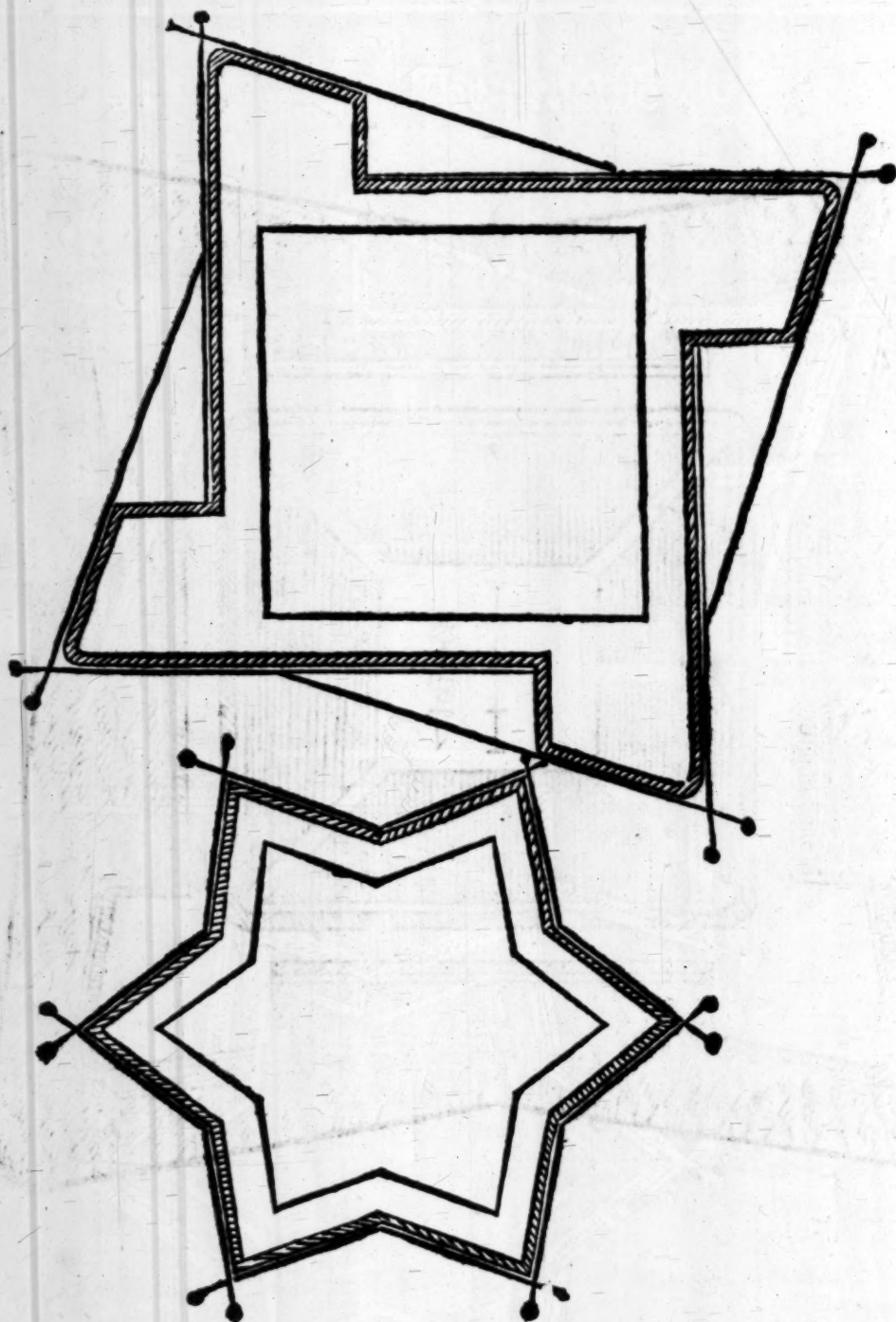
The 4. Chapter.



Here is another maner of fortifying which is with earth : in which, in stead of a face of bricke or stone, is a face of turffe vled, and for the Counterforts, faggots: which manner of building is of little charge in respect of the other, and yet is much more durable against a forceable batterie. The experience thereof hath been sufficiently seene in this late warres of y^e Lowe Countries; but it is not so durable against the wether: but being of good earth and the faggots greene, it wil the longer continue and although the face wast and moulder away with the wether, yet will the fort continue defenceable. And the best is, the face may be repayred againe with little charge. With this manner of building were the townes in the Lowe countries reenforced, and also many small forts made both by the Duke of Parma, wherewith hee kept the townes besieged: and also by the Patriotes, wherewith they frontiered the Duke, impeaching the courses of his men: he pretending the assurance of his, through the Campe he had in the field to succour them: and they for the most part, placing theirs so well watered and hard to bee kept from reliefe, hauing for the most part so commodious situations for the purpose: as some of them haue giuen their enemies trauell to get them, and others haue caused them to retire without the, as Lyllo & others. Of which forts, some contained 160. paces square, some 100. some 80. others 60. 40. or lesse, & of these, diuers formes here following are shewed. But so small forts may well serue to hinder the courses of a small number, but not to frontier a forcible enemy, except they stand well watered, and where they cannot be cut off from succour. And yet it were necessarie that they should be of that greatnes, that they might receiue and lodge foure or fve hundred men at the least, leauing the rampiers, streetes and place of assemblie, or market place free.







Besides these, there are diuers other irregular formes vsed, most of them carping a more shewe of strangenes then of defence: but sith the defences in so small Forts as these procede chiefly, either of bulwarks, halfe bulwarks, and tenailes, these may suffice: admonishing the Fortifier, if the place will permit, to vse as well in the delphning of these small Forts, as in those greater, the considerations befoze in them alleaged.

The manner of the worke is this: the turffe must be cut like a wedge, of 12. or 14. inches long, and 5. or 6. inches broade equidistant, the one ende 4. or 5. inches thicke, and the other sharpe, and these turffes would be taken in the best ground that lyeth neere about the Fort, and must be cut with a long sharpe Spade, of five or sixe inches broade, and 14. inches long, which must be well steeled, and kept very sharpe: and the turffe must be carped and handled without breaking, and layde in the worke, the great ende outward, and the grassy side downeward, and scarping, one in 5. or 6. foote, the rampire behinde the turffe rising with the earth that is throwne out of the ditch, as fast as the face of the worke riseth. (And when the face is raised the heighth of five turffes, and the earth behinde it layd euen, and spread almost as broade as the rampier is pretended (which may be 20. 30. or 40. foote, and more or lesse, as the earth that may be throwne out of the ditch will make it) or at the least so broade as it is thought that the wood will lye: for to say truch, to throwe downe the earth, or to spread it too broade befoze the wall be rayled, were a point of no great wisdom) stretch a lyne and pare the turffe euen with a sharpe Spade, but scarping, according to the first scarpe you layde them at, and then lay a rowe of faggots, which faggots must be 8. or 9. foote long, and more or lesse as the wood will giue them, but not thicker then that you may almost gripe them betwixt your two hands, the great ende of the wood lying all one way in the faggot, which end must be stamped against the ground that it may lye euen in the wall, and must be bound with three bonds and layde in the worke the great ends outward, one inch ouer the turffe, and must be thrust by fast and close the one to the other, but not layd thicker then one fagot at once. And vpon the small

ends of those first layd faggots, must other faggots be layde, whose small ends must ouerlappe the small ends of the said first faggots, some threē foote and a halfe or thereabouts. And vppon the great ends of these second faggots, must a third faggot be layde, whose small ends must likewise ouerlappe the great ends of the said second faggots, as the small ende of the second did the small ends of the first, (and where wood is plentie, hauing haste to rayse the worke, lay a fourth faggot in like manner,) which being done, rayse againe the face of the worke sixe turffes higher, paring them by a lyne as is aforesayde, and rayling the earth behinde them as befoze, and then lay another rowe of faggots, and thus continue the worke, vntill it riseth some twelue foote, aboue the foote it standeth vppon; which foote must be left sixe foote broad, vntill the Foote be full ended to receiue the earth which shall be throwne out of the bottome of the ditch, which from thence must be throwne into the Foote, and this foote must be afterward cut narrower flat off, but not so narrowe that it might put the rampire that standeth vppon it in danger of falling. Which done, raise a parapet of some sixe or sixe foote broad, more or lesse, according to the greatnesse of the Foote, and largenesse of the rampier, and make the ditch if it be where water aboundeth the broader, but standing dry, the narrower and deeper. A great care must be had in making of the ditch, of the goodnesse of the ground, for feare of laying the worke vnder scete, to auoide which inconuenience, the best way is to leaue the wall a verie good foote, and not to sinke the ditch too deepe on that side next it, but rather to make a secret ditch in the midst, or to make that side next the counter-scarpe very deepe, leauing the other side the showler. Where wood is scarce, there vse none but in the bulwarke only, and there as little as you may, but only to stay the face of the bulwarke; and raise the face of the curtine with turffes only, giuing them somewhat the more scarpe, or for a neede vse no wood at all, and where turffe would fall out scant, so that the ditch would be well watered, vse none but in the bulwarks, and rayse the courtine with earth onely, making euery way a vertue of necessitye.

The manner of fortifying of old walled Townes.

The 5. Chapter.



Of that the Townes enclosed with weake walles of stone, and defended with small, square, or round towres, are insufficient to abide the mallice and offence that an enemy at this day may put in practise, the Cannon being an engine of much more force then any before it inuented. To resist whose violence, other meane cannot be giuen, then to rampier those walles within, and make greater and rofaller defences without; which defences, where the ditches are narrowe and shoule, the wall running any thing straight, or not making so great an arke, but that from any reasonable large flanke the same may be scoured, would be set ioint to the wall as bulwarks, and those Towres ruyned that might impeach the artillerie in their flanks to scoure the wall: but where the ditches are deepe and broade, or the wall too much circularre, there the defences would be placed without the counterscarpe, both for the better flanking of the wall, and to auoide the great charge, labour, and time, that the filling of the ditch, and farre setting of the earth to raise the worke would require, and being so placed, they are tearmed to be ravelins of the Italyans & Frenchmen, and of vs they haue been tearmed spurres. Of Bulwarks there is sufficiently before spoken, but yet heere note, that it shall not be necessarie to make these Bulwarks in Townes, so great as those in royall frontiers, committing the charge of them vnto Townesmen, except the same be well peopled Cities; neyther were it good to bestowe too great cost vpon the fortifying of any euill situated place, for suche thynges are easie for an enemy to gette, and hard afterwards to bee gotten out of his hands, but for the delyning

of a raveling, if the same be to be placed against the side of a towne, take this course being vpon the ground where the raveline should stand, goe perpendicularly from the wall and counterscarpe some 140. or 160. foote, or more or lesse as you will make it great, hauing respect vnto the necessitie, and vnto the valour, and number of the defenders that be vpon the place, or may be had vpon a suddaine, and set downe a stake for the exterior angle or point of the raveline: then turning toward the wall, behold from what place the same raveline may best be defended, which must be by caueliers or platformes rayled within the wall, except the wall and rampier bee of sufficient breadth to place artillerie vppon, which must not stand farther distant from the exterior angle or point of the ravelin then 180. paces at the vttermost, & from those platformes or caualiers vnto the same exterior angle, drawe two right lines for the fronts of the raveline, which fronts may not be continued vppon those lynes vnto the counterscarpe (because the extreames of the next the counterscarpe would fall out too weake & indefencible) but must be cut off perpendicular from the counterscarpe or wall at some reasonable breadth, leauing both ends of the ravelin as the flanks or cullions of a bulwarke, and it must lye wholly open toward the towne, that the towne may commaund, and domaie ouer it, and that an enemy entred, may haue no succour in it, to assure himselfe from the artillerie and harquebuserie of the towne. And it must be manned by a bridge which must be layd as low, and couered as possibly it may. But if the ditch be dry, then make the way into it through a vault vnder the ground, or through the bottome of the ditch, and shut in both the sides or flanks of the raveline vnto the wall with a strong palizado to assure it from surprize. And when a raveline is to be placed vppon an angle, then procede as in the delyning of a bulwarke, but neuer place a ravelin vppon a sharpe or right angle, because it would fall out too sharpe, but within the right or sharpe angle place a platforme which may defende the ravelins vppon the lines on either side of it: and note also that you may not vppon any other angle take the flanke of a ravelin so royall and large, as you would the flanke and shoulder of a bulwarke, because

cause of it disjoint standing from the wall which causeth sharp-
nes.

The ranaliers or platformes, must be placed where they may best defend the thing for whose cause they are made, on most parts offend an enemy, with choise as nere as may be of the highest ground to ease the labour and charge, and they may be of earth only, with dung, rubbish, and such like, as the place yeeldeth, but must be begun so broad, as that being rayled to their full heighth, you may haue scope inough to vse fve or sixe peeces of artillerie vpon them, or more or lesse as shall be thought needfull, and also haue sufficient breadth to defend the same, with a large parapet, gabions, or such like, and place them a good distance from the wall that they charge not the wall, and that being beaten, they may the easier be reedified.

If the wall be so high, that to rampier it to the heighth it is at, it would aske too great a labour and charge, then rebate it or take it downe lower, (especially if there be no high ground without the towne opposite vnto it,) but if it be not able to beare the waight of the earth that should be layd against it, then to stay the wall from sliding, lay earth without at the foote of it, making the ditch deeper and larger if neede require, as in the Figure following is scene.

To helpe the insufficiencie of the gates, place a raveline before them, foreseeing with one defence to serue two turnes, but if any gate stand indefensible as in an angle, damme it vp, and make a newe in the curtain.

Where the water may be drawne away, there make a strong and sufficient damme of stone, placing a palizado before it, (providing alwayes to haue some royall defence neere vnto it, that an enemy may be impeached, by all meanes possible to approach it:) which palizado must be of yong trees that will yeeld fve or sixe inches of square timber, set fast in the ground, and bound together, the one standing three inches distant from the other, that nothing may be hid behind it from the harquebussierie of the Fort, and also it were necessary that the outside of it should be flanked from the said Fort. Likewise, any

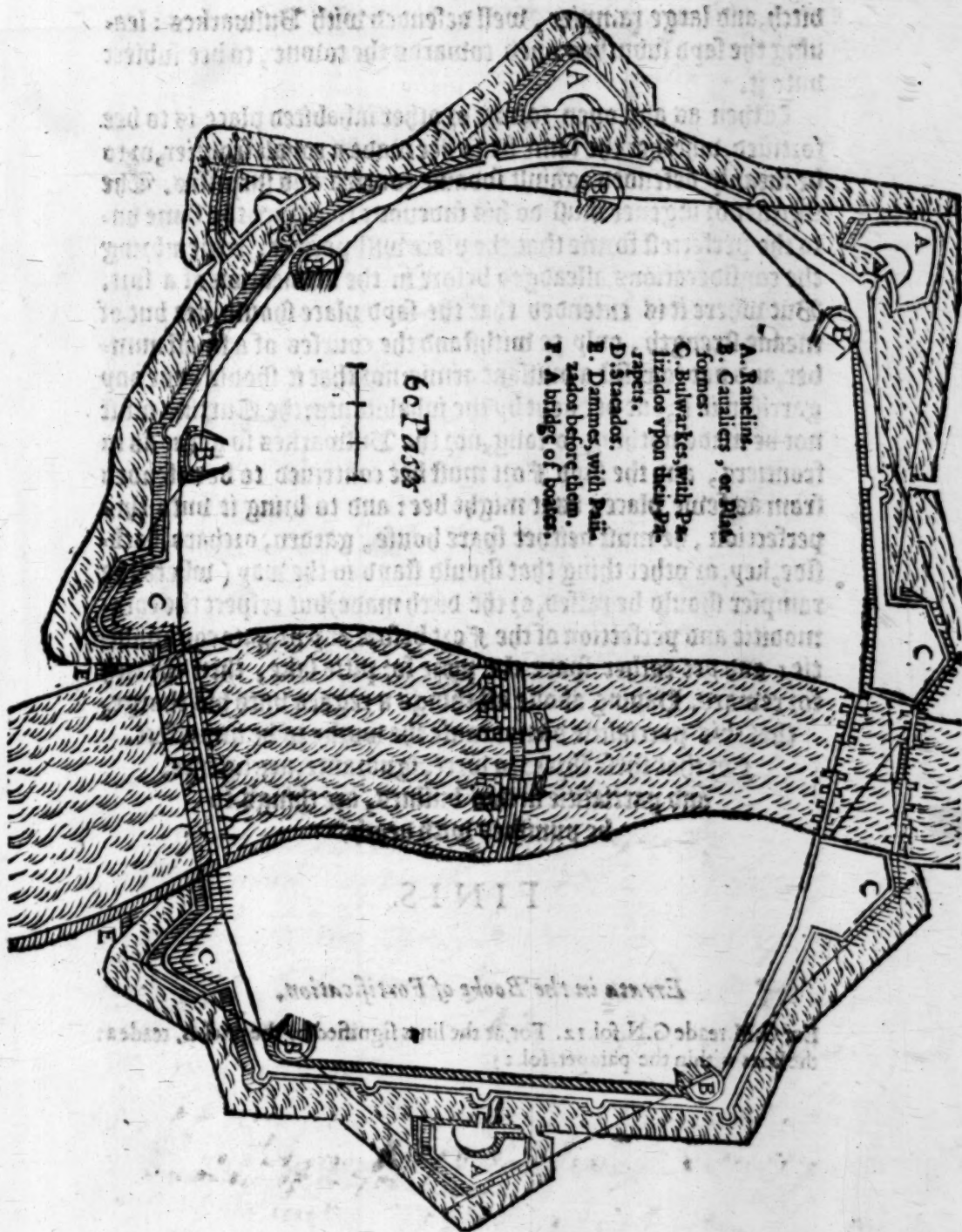
E g.

courtine

courtine or bulwarke standing neere vnto anye damme, seabanke, or other such like, whereby it might be easily approached, aboyded, and surprised, must haue a palizado (placed at the outer edge of the parapet rayled vppon the sayd courtine or bulwarke) of sparres or such like, which palizados may be 14. or 15. foote high, or more or lesse.

Where a riuer of slowe course hath passage through a towne, whose water side or Keys are unwallled, there place in the riuer (betwixt two forceable flanks) a stackado of great piles to keepe an enemy out, leauing certaine places open for passage, which vppon the suddaine at euery neede may be shut: but where the water runneth strong, and the fall of the riuer great, or the deapth such, that a stackado would little auaille the defence, and hinder the towne of his commoditie, there only vpon necessitie, when an enemy is looked for (especially if he may either bring with him, or finde where he cometh to serue his turne,) make a brydge of hoxes, lighters, or such like, forceably mooring them, stretching cables from the one to the other, placing the brydge where it may be royally flanked, well arming it with men and artillerie, of all which, in the Figure following is sufficient demonstration.

Concerning the suburbes of cities and townes, if that they do lye so stretched out at length, that there could neither bee meanes found to defend them, nor reason to make them strong, they must bee throwne downe when as an enemy is looked for: (but rather too soone then too late) not only because that the sayd suburbes might lodge and harbour the said enemy, or that the timber, wood, or other thing that might bee had in them, might greatly pleasure him to offend the towne: but also because that houses or other thing standing neere vnto a towne, or fort, are meanes to surprise and approach vnto it, and the approacher not be discouered, or impeached by the defenders. But whereas the suburbes do stand round together, are well peopled and great, like vnto a peece of a citie or towne, to auoyd the great damage that would ensue of the ruining of such a multitude of houses: inuiron the sayd suburbes (hauing leisure to do it) with a good ditch,



ditch, and large rampier, well defended with Bulwarkes: leaving the sayd suburbs open towards the towne, to bee subiect unto it.

When as any open towne or other inhabited place is to bee fortified, whether the same be to bee made a royall frontier, or to be meanly defended against sodaine courses and surprises. The fortifier or ingener must do his indeuour to reduce the same vnto the perfectest forme that the place will permit, remembering the considerations alleadged before in the delineation of a fort. But where it is intended that the sayd place should bee but of meane strength, only to withstand the courses of a small number, and not to resist a puissant armie: nor that it should haue any garrison in it, but bee kept by the inhabitants: the Curtins must not be made nothing so long, nor the Bulwarkes so great as in frontiers, and the sayd Fort must bee contriued to be defended from as fewe places as it might bee: and to bring it vnto this perfection, he must neither spare house, garden, orchard, backside, key, or other thing that should stand in the way (where the rampier should be raised, or the ditch made) but respect the commoditie and perfection of the Fort before any priuate commoditie: and yet rather spare the poore for pitie sake, then the rich for reward. Having about all things a regard vnto his charge, that this partialitie do not cause the worke to be imperfect.

For that these three: to wheet, ignorance, negligence, and partialitie in this business, are things to be punished with death.

FINIS.

Errata in the Booke of Fortification.

For G.M. reade G.N. fol. 12. For, the lines signified by the prickles, reade at the lines within the parapet. fol. 25.

138. Lewis K. of Hungary his rash courage in giving the
Turke Battail in 15 year 1526. Soymon the
Magnificent that year invading Hungary.
The prudent course upon this occasion taken by the
Constable of France upon the invasion of Charles 5. the.
125. A Lye sufficient to breed opinion & opinion breeds on
substance. some in Sulphur & others by Sloth.
127. The K. of the Ethiolia got strong against
Powers K. of Persia.
214. Alexander's wisdom in securing the
sea designing the invasion of Asia.
215. How to know & fight out the Enemy designs
so the example of Scipio against Syphax.
213. Pompey's policy to secure himself of a Town
whose fidelity was suspected.
216. An artifice to render a besieger secure &
for vanquish him.
217. Annibals subtilly drawing of Scipio into the faggots
by the use of the horn.
160. How to make an enemy suspected. The killing
Prætext against Jugurth.
161. Romans against Annibal by the conduct of Scipio.
219. Simulation used to cover an enterprise.
221. Annibal seeks to draw Paul Æmilius into
danger with a baite where the cautious Æmilius
was shy of.
113. Principall parts in a Generall to be sober
& not given to pleasures & wry. with other
virtues of a good General.
118. Confusus subtilty at Cignola causing
a small army.

119. A slight to make the friends of the
 120. Ambassadors for the purpose of the
 confederacy of a battle & to provide for
 121. Judgment on Caesar and the Ambassadors know
 the one knowing how to use for victory, the other not
 the opportunity being taken by the Ambassadors
 of an enemy after a victory. Sertorius is publicly
 after a defeat by Metellus,
 victory and the same slight again
 122. Spanish General used the same flag &
 in the modern wars with no fruit
 123. What a General ought to do upon going
 in danger of famine. namely to surround
 battle & victory
 124. Caesar took advantage of an enemy passing
 a river upon good intelligence given him.
 125. A wise Captain ought rather to resist the
 violence of his enemy, than to assault him
 furiously. See Fabius, Consul, Son of Palma
 story.
 126. A wife & faithful counsellor to counsel with most
 necessary for a General. This Counselor Plutarch
 Plutarch on See Plutarch
 127. Fabius Maximus is said to convince manly
 of his past error. with the like of Sertorius.
 128. A General ought to know how to incite or
 allay his passions by eloquence
 129. Religion made use of, at old by Sertorius
 Sertorius: now far more but of false
 gods, who men found at that day, than
 in these modern times by true.

213. Pradley Valuing vs shakagome to secure
himself of the Epidaurians by forging a
pardon from the Pope.

214. A printer or General finding his counsellors
or Agents disclosing his secrets ought to imitate
Venetian policy.

217. An Artifice to make ordinary suspect extraordinary

222. Mommor of Rhodes vs shakagome to drive
it out of a strong fort.

259. Isralites cover to secure Canaan different
from the Romans.

266. Men that suffer theyr passions to surmount
theyr reason are never restrained but by force & fear.

261. Caesar payed for all the wood upon his conquests
in France.

122. Authour convinces Caesar to be the Greatest
Soldier by all other ways.